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# “THE WHITE MAN’S FOOT IN KANSAS.”

## AN ADDRESS

*By John B. Dunbar, of Bloomfield, N. J.,*

AT THE PAWNEE VILLAGE, REPUBLIC COUNTY, KANSAS,  
SEPTEMBER 27, 1906, CELEBRATING THE ONE  
HUNDREDTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE  
FLAG IN KANSAS.

*Published by the  
Kansas State Historical Society.*



STATE PRINTING OFFICE,  
TOPEKA, 1908.



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## THE CENTENNIAL CELEBRATION AT PIKE'S PAWNEE VILLAGE.

ON the 14th of May, 1906, the people of Republic City held a public meeting, under the auspices of the Pawnee Historical Society, and unanimously resolved to celebrate the one hundredth anniversary of the visit of Lieut. Zebulon Montgomery Pike to their neighborhood in the fall of 1806. It was further determined to have a four days' celebration, September 26 to 29, 1906; that Wednesday, the 26th, be Woman's day; Thursday, the 27th, Historical day; Friday, the 28th, Grand Army day; and Saturday, the 29th, Pike's day. The following committee on finance was agreed upon by the meeting: H. H. Smith and M. C. Polley, Republic City; A. W. Vale, Webber; O. H. Durand, N. H. Angle, Elizabeth A. Johnson, Republic City; and Thomas Charles, of Belleville. This committee was authorized to give Kansas, for her first centennial, a demonstration as nearly equal as possible to the event which happened at the Pawnee village September 29, 1806.

After the meeting the aforesaid committee appointed other committees, as follows:

*General Arrangements:* N. H. Angle, H. H. Smith, T. J. Charles, J. W. Ambrose, E. D. Haney, A. B. Evans, W. S. Lower, and S. Eddy.

*Music:* Mrs. Eva Moore, Dr. D. E. Foristall, Mrs. J. W. Ambrose, and H. E. Clark.

A variety of entertainment features were provided. Four batteries of United States artillery were sent from Fort Riley, and an elaborate program arranged. Everything was in perfect readiness on the opening day. The park, underneath the hill upon which stands the monument, was amply provided with booths, platforms, and seats. The weather for the four days was ideal, and the attendance large, culminating, on Saturday, the 29th, with an enormous crowd. The village site and park is two miles from the nearest railroad, at Republic city, and is accessible only by wagon travel. Several bands from neighboring towns were in attendance.

Wednesday, the 26th, Woman's day, was in charge of Mrs. J. D. McFarland, president of the Woman's Kansas Day Club. The ceremonies opened with "A Woman's Greeting," by Mrs. E. W. Hoch. Mrs. Noble L. Prentis spoke in behalf of the Kansas Federation of Women's Clubs; Mrs. Charles E. Adams, of Superior, Neb., ex-president of the National Woman's Relief Corps, spoke on "Good Citizenship"; Mrs. Albert H. Horton, of Topeka, representing Mrs. Donald McLean, president general, spoke of the "Daughters of the American Revolution." In the afternoon, Mrs. Lilla Day Monroe, of Topeka, represented the Kansas Equal Suffrage Association, Mrs. Eva M. Murphy, of Goodland, the Kansas Woman's Christian Temperance Union, and Mrs. Cora G. Lewis, of Kinsley, the Woman's Kansas Day Club, in an address, "A Romance Century." Mrs. Elma B. Dalton, of Winfield, spoke in behalf of the Ladies of the Grand Army of the Republic. These papers exhibited the progress and accomplishments of women during the one hundred years under the flag.

September 27, Historical day, the following addresses were given: "The

"White Man's Foot in Kansas," written by Prof. John B. Dunbar, of Bloomfield, N. J., and read by Mrs. Cora G. Lewis, of Kinsley; "The Pawnees, As I Knew Them," by James R. Mead, of Wichita, read by M. C. Polley, member of the legislature from Republic county; "Characters and Incidents of the Plains," by William E. Connelley, of Topeka, read by Mrs. Elma B. Dalton, of Winfield; and "The First Two Years of Kansas," an address by Geo. W. Martin, secretary of the State Historical Society. Rev. Dr. J. A. Sutton closed the exercises of the day with an able address on "Providence in History."

Capt. Patrick H. Coney, department commander of Kansas, was president of the day September 28. "The Grand Army of the Republic, Its Attainments and Its Mission," was the subject of an address by Captain Coney. Capt. Charles E. Adams, of Superior, Neb., ex-department commander of that state, next spoke on "Patriotism"; and Hon. W. A. Calderhead, member of Congress from the fifth district, closed the day with a stirring address.

By order of State Supt. I. L. Dayhoff, every public school in Kansas devoted an hour this Friday afternoon to the story of "Pike and the Flag"—the 300,000 school children of Kansas acting in unison with the services at Pawnee village.

Saturday, the 29th, was the real anniversary of the incident which occurred at the Pawnee village September 29, 1806, as related by Lieutenant Pike: "After a silence of some time an old man arose, went to the door, took down the Spanish flag, brought it, and laid it at my feet; he then received the American flag, and elevated it on the staff which had lately borne the standard of his Catholic majesty. This gave great satisfaction to the Osage and Kans, both of whom decidedly avow themselves to be under American protection."

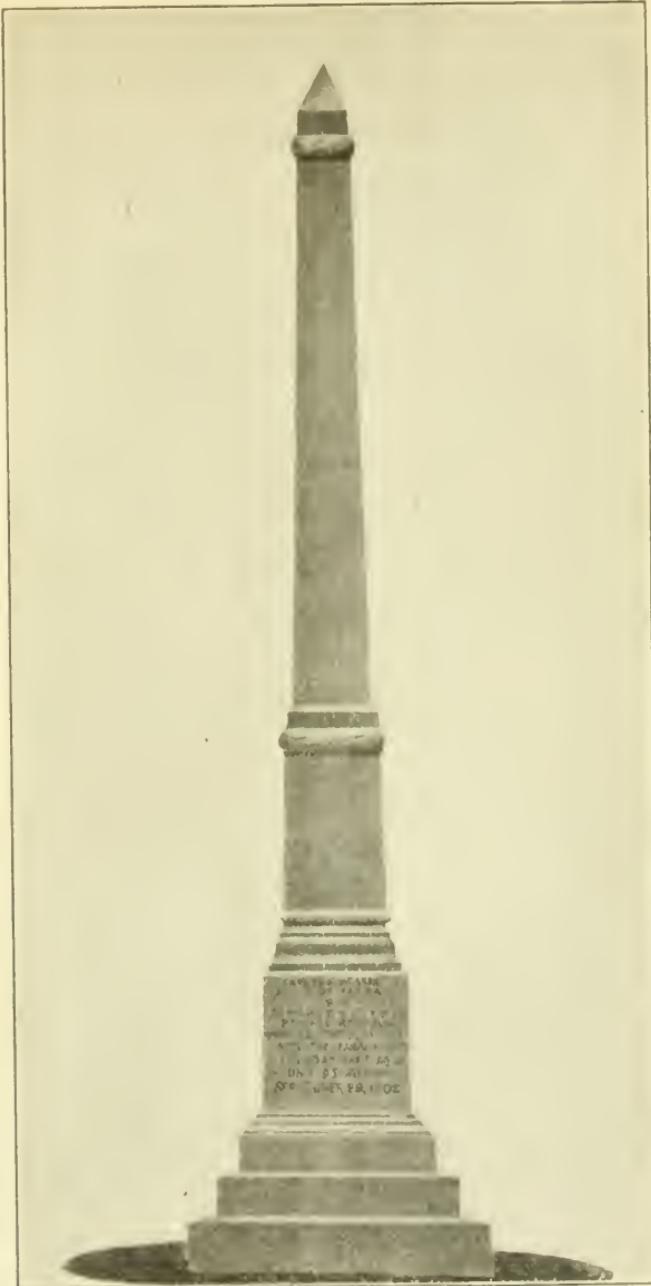
The people of the surrounding country for miles, even across the line into Nebraska, seemed to have quit business for the day, and passed into the grove until there was scarcely room to contain them. Wagons, carriages, guns and horses were so thick that inextricable confusion would have resulted but for the creditable management of the local committees.

Gov. E. W. Hoch made an address on "This Country of Ours." Gomer T. Davies gave an account of the neighborhood efforts to establish the location of the village; and Hon. Chester I. Long, United States senator, arrived in time from Colorado Springs, where he made the principal address at a like celebration on the 27th, to make an address on the subject of "Kansas." Colorado celebrated from the 23d to the 29th of September.

Several exhibition drills were given by the Second, Twenty-second and Thirty-fifth batteries of artillery, under command of Captain Mott. On Pike's day the flag was raised over the village site with military honors, and a short address was made by Governor Hoch.

After the close of Senator Long's speech, George W. Martin, Secretary of the State Historical Society, spoke as follows:

The Woman's Kansas Day Club was organized to fill a long felt want. For many years we have had a Kansas Day Club, that is, an organization for celebrating the 29th of January, the day Kansas was admitted into the Union. But that is a Republican partisan organization, limited to men who, in addition to assuming vast credit, discuss party policies, and put up a job or two, or perhaps three; anyhow, always absolutely selfish. A



Erected by the State of Kansas,  
1901,  
To mark the site of the Pawnee Republic, where  
LIEUT. ZEBULON M. PIKE  
caused the Spanish flag to be lowered  
and the flag of the United States to be raised,  
September 29, 1806.

couple of years ago some women, who thought they had as much interest in the natal day of our state as the men, concluded to organize along patriotic lines solely. Their purpose is to cultivate state pride among women, and at the same time as far as possible secure due credit for their sisters in the wonderful history-making peculiar to Kansas. At their first meeting they presented to the State Historical Society a very rich painting of Sara T. D. Robinson, the widow of the first governor of the state, still living. They resolved that their work for this year should be some assistance to this delightful success, the celebration of Pike's visit to Republic county, and an acknowledgment of the first act of United States sovereignty over Kansas and Colorado asserted by him on yonder hill. So we have here with us from all parts of the state eighteen or twenty members of this woman's organization. Besides assisting here, this body caused meetings to be held yesterday afternoon in 5000 school districts of Kansas, where the story of Pike and the flag in Republic county was told to more than a quarter of a million children. Can you grasp what that means? While the Grand Army from this platform was giving patriotic lessons, the entire population of the state was acting in unison with you. Could anything be more inspiring or serviceable? The women have struck the key-note of patriotism and usefulness.

Most people have a funny idea of history. They think it comes from governors, senators, politicians, and those who obtain some notoriety. They are off. It comes from you folks who work on the farms. True, there must be leaders and bosses, but if you stop for a season or two raising corn and alfalfa and wheat, the leaders and bosses will have to walk out. The greater part of history is made by the daily toilers—people in the humbler walks of life.

The State Historical Society, as compared with similar institutions, has a remarkable collection, and is doing a remarkable work. There are from 100 to 200 visitors roaming through the corridors of the state-house every day. Many of them are travelers and sightseers from other states. I talk with a great many of them. They tell stories about men whose pictures are on the wall, and they ask many questions. On the walls, among the portraits of many eminent characters in Kansas history, we have a life-size photograph of Mrs. Elizabeth A. Johnson. The question is universally asked, "Why is that woman here among these governors and other distinguished men?" I have repeated the story probably a thousand times in the past five or six years, that Mrs. Johnson is the wife of a farmer in Republic county; that she spent years in searching for the village site where Lieutenant Pike caused this change of flags, with only 22 American soldiers amid 1400 Indians, and 350 Spanish cavalrymen lurking around in the neighborhood; that she bought the land to keep it from being plowed up; that she presented it to the state; that she induced the legislature to spend \$3000 in marking the site. I have told this to eastern women, who didn't have the slightest idea that any such thing ever occurred on these prairies, and they stood before me absolutely thrilled. A farmer's wife to do this, out in the country, with farms only surrounding it; and not in some elegant city park? I believe they thought more of this act than that of twenty soldiers. They universally responded, "Surely this woman is entitled to a place in a historical collection." I could name a score or more of men, on the same walls, who all combined have not done as much entitling them to a place there.

Now is it any wonder that our sisters of the Woman's Kansas Day Club are so interested in the Pike celebration, and that they want the record made complete in the adoption of a resolution acknowledging faint credit for one to whom much credit is due. Representing the State Historical Society, which will preserve a full account of this splendid occasion, I now call upon Mrs. Lewis.

Mrs. J. M. Lewis, jr., offered the following resolution:

WHEREAS, The supreme glory of the state is the sacred spot where the flag is first exalted in the name of our country; therefore, we believe the site of the Pawnee village, being the spot where Lieutenant Pike first raised the stars and stripes in our state, should be held in reverence in the hearts of every loyal Kansan; therefore, be it

*Resolved*, That we, the people assembled to commemorate the first centennial anniversary of the removal of the Spanish flag from the soil of the United States, hereby express to Mr. and Mrs. George Johnson our sincere appreciation and loving gratitude for preserving for us and our children the place where our beloved flag was first raised. We believe that the lowering of the flag of one nation and the establishment of the sovereignty of another, in the name of peace and without bloodshed, to be one of the things that consecrates our state and lights the way to the universal peace which is the hope of Christian civilization. Therefore, Mr. and Mrs. George Johnson have given us the most sacred spot on Kansas soil, the site of the Pawnee village, now marked by the state with a granite monument in honor of Zebulon M. Pike; therefore, be it further

*Resolved*, That it is our privilege on this memorable occasion to publicly tender to Mr. and Mrs. Johnson the tribute of our love and gratitude.<sup>1</sup>

MRS. J. M. LEWIS, JR., Kinsley, *Chairman.*

MRS. E. W. HOCH, Marion.

MR. GEO. W. MARTIN, Topeka.

Governor Hoch moved the adoption of the resolutions, and United States Senator Long seconded the motion.

The resolutions were adopted by a rising vote of the large assembly.

NOTE 1.—At the close of the anniversary, Saturday evening, the 29th, Mrs. Johnson gave her house party of forty guests a banquet, with Mrs. Cora G. Lewis as toastmistress. Addresses were made by Senator Long, Governor Hoch, and Captain Mott, of the regular army. At the meeting of the Woman's Kansas Day Club, January 29, 1907, the ladies constituting the guests of Mrs. Johnson for the week made Mrs. Johnson a gift of a gold badge, George W. Martin making the presentation address as follows:

"My sympathies are very strongly with the Woman's Kansas Day Club, because you observe the natal day of the state along proper lines—patriotism and history. There is one fact I will repeat and emphasize on all occasions, and that is, that women are not properly recognized in the history of Kansas. Looking through the Annals of Kansas the other day for something else, my eyes hit the following, concerning the days of 1856: "The women of Kansas suffered more than the men, and were not less heroic. Their names are not known; they were not elected to office; they had none of the exciting delights of an active outdoor life on these attractive prairies; they endured in silence; they took care of the home, and of the sick; if 'home they brought her warrior dead, she nor swooned, nor uttered sigh."

"Now, Mrs. Johnson, you are not arraigned before this interesting assembly as a horrible specimen of territorial or pioneer woe. Your innate disposition to be clever and helpful, your broad aeres, pleasant and hospitable home, and splendid companion (male, of course) who shares with you, give us to know that you have always had a good time. We are not here, however, to celebrate the good times you have had; but we do sincerely and joyously desire to celebrate the good times you have given others. I have been to your home six times in the past five years, in the interest of an historical task caused and consummated by yourself. There is no necessity on this occasion to repeat the story of your connection with the Pawnee village and Lieutenant Pike's appearance with the flag in Republic county. You are almost solely responsible for one of the most interesting chapters in Kansas history. Twice in the year 1901, July 4 and September 29, you authorized me to invite forty guests to your home, and each time you entertained over thirty in the most royal manner. Again, in 1906, when the one hundredth anniversary of Pike's flag raising reached us you authorized me to invite fifty to be your guests for a week. You had over thirty with you for five days. Everything was as free as water from the time we left the train until we returned to the train for home, and your watchfulness for the comfort of all was

## A PEACE DANCE FOREVER.

LEAVENWORTH, KAN., September 25, 1906.

*Geo. W. Martin, Secretary of Kansas State Historical Society, Topeka, Kan.:*

MY DEAR SIR AND FRIEND—I have your notice of "the one hundredth anniversary of the unfurling of the American flag on Kansas soil," etc., and fully intended to be with you at "Pawnee village" on the 29th inst., to celebrate my seventy-eighth birthday and pursuit of Pawnees through the country more than fifty-six years ago—June, 1850, but I am sorry to say that my health will not permit me to make the journey.

Of the Pawnees then living it is safe to say that all, through their devious ways, have landed upon the "happy hunting-grounds," where the white man has ceased from troubling and the weary warriors are at rest.

Of the pursuing party, so far as I know, I am the only one left, and if in the final wind-up I find my comrades in as safe a haven as the Pawnees hoped for we will have a peace dance that shall last forever.

I sincerely hope that during the celebration you may be blessed with such an Indian summer as can be found nowhere outside of Kansas, and that every man, woman and child may thank God that his or her lot has been cast within the charmed circle.

If Lieutenant Pike could have known how near the heart of the best of earth he was planting his flag, and the wonderful people and institutions that were to grow up around it, he should have been a happy man.

With best wishes for all that you and the celebration represent,

I am, sincerely your friend,

P. G. LOWE.

beyond any words of mine to state. And the four days of patriotism, oratory and artillery closed with a banquet at your house Saturday evening, September 29, equal to the Waldorf, and for happy and solid talk, and smart and good-looking women, was never equaled anywhere.

"The story of the flag in Kansas will speak strongly and enthusiastically of the duty you performed in the interest of the public and of the history of your state, but the friends who enjoyed your hospitality would be unspeakably indifferent or selfish if they did not by some token show appreciation of the delightful time your heart and hands gave them.

"Accordingly, in behalf of the ladies constituting your house party September 24 to 30, 1906, I hand you a golden badge, so designed that it is not only a token of appreciation and love, but a souvenir of historical significance, closely allied with the most precious incident following the transfer of the Louisiana territory from France to the United States."

House party at Mrs. George Johnson's, September 29, 1906: Mrs. Albert H. Horton, Mrs. Lee Monroe, Mrs. Eva M. Murphy, Mrs. Anna Dick Rodgers, Mrs. Josephine Martin, Mrs. E. W. Hoch, Mrs. Noble L. Prentis, Mrs. C. B. Brittin, Mrs. Elma B. Dalton, Mrs. A. A. Adams, Mrs. Sarah L. Felt, Mrs. James D. McFarland, Mr. George W. Martin, Mrs. James M. Lewis, Jr., Mr. Luther M. Nellis, Capt. Charles E. Adams, Col. P. H. Coney, Gov. E. W. Hoch, Senator Chester I. Long, Capt. Thos. B. Mott (U. S. Artillery), Ralph H. Faxon, Jesse S. Leach, Miss Zu Adams.

## THE WHITE MAN'S FOOT IN KANSAS.<sup>1</sup>

Address written by JOHN B. DUNBAR, of Bloomfield, N. J., and read at Pike's Pawnee village September 27, 1906, by MRS. JAMES M. LEWIS, JR., of Kinsley.

ONE HUNDRED years ago to-day there were met in solemn conclave here representatives of the two types of civilization that thus far are rightfully accorded prominent place in the annals of our country. On one side of that assemblage were seen, few in number, the restless, persistent, progressive descendants of the fair-haired, blue-eyed barbarians that one thousand years earlier were, on sea and land, overrunning and possessing western Europe. Wherever they established themselves, barbarians though they were, a new phase of life, of thought, and conduct soon began to appear. Their impress, in due time, was recognized as making, in the main, toward a better order of things. The kindlier phases of life, social and civil, became more manifest and controlling; the thought of home and its value was appreciated and cherished; the cruelties of war were mitigated; forms of civil administration became more benign; education was encouraged—in short, wherever this new race penetrated an influence for manifold good was felt and encouraged. So far this transforming impulse seems to have constituted the noblest heritage, save one, that has fallen to man. All that the much lauded Greek and Roman civilization contributed to the well-being of man in thought and in progress, and the contribution they made is larger than is usually recognized, pales into insignificance in the presence of this later, greater and more pervasive influence.

On the other side in that council, in far greater numbers, were to be seen the representatives of one of the longest known, most influential and respected tawny-faced tribes of the Mississippi valley. In character and in life they were widely divergent from the small group of pale-faced visitors. Time out of mind they, with the three other bands of the Pani tribe, had been the

NOTE 1.—As to the source whence the material for this paper was derived, appeal has been constantly made to the published account of Pike's tour through central Kansas, as far as the Pawnee village upon the Republican in northern Kansas; thence southwest to the Arkansas, westward to the Rocky Mountains, and finally south into New Mexico, till he was arrested and conveyed to Santa Fe, and soon thereafter to Chihuahua. The data presented in his published report, after his return to the United States, are ample, varied and always interesting. He was quite as ready and effective with his pen as with his sword, and whatever he records is well worth reading. To the material thus at hand certain additions, derived from a brief memoir of the general prepared by William Whiting, and published as volume V of the second series of American biographies, published under the general supervision of Jared Sparks. Various articles in certain periodicals published early in the last century have also been consulted, as well as sundry documents in the archives of the War Department in Washington. In a recent edition of Pike's journals, by Elliott Coues; copious annotations present frequently collateral information that is both interesting and of essential value.

Within the last month word has appeared in certain Eastern periodicals to the effect that the original journals of his expedition, as kept from day to day, but taken from him soon after his arrest by the Mexican authorities, have at last been found among the archives in the War Office in the City of Mexico. If access may be had to these documents, the long mooted query as to whether Lieutenant Pike was in any degree tainted by the syren song of the Burr Conspiracy may at last be solved. Coues seems to be convinced that Pike did yield to the temptation. If this theory were proved to be correct, he was in all probability induced to the step by the ignoble malapert General Wilkinson, an active agent with Burr in planning the establishment of an independent dominion in the Southwest. He had been essentially befriended by Wilkinson, in being appointed to conduct two important explorations, and may have been thus influenced to yield in some measure to the syren song of the wily Wilkinson, intimating that should he be willing to join in the enterprise, already deeply involved in the scheme, better things would be in store for him. Till this fact is actually proven, however, it becomes the part of justice, as well as of charity, to believe that Pike, like a true soldier, lived and died untainted, without spot or wrinkle or any such grave charge marring his military record.

recognized suzerains of the fairest hunting-grounds of the plains, extending essentially from the Missouri river to the eastern slope of the Rocky Mountains, and from the Niobrara to the Arkansas. In industry, in kindness, and in prowess, they were the peers of any tribe known to them. On each of the four rivers of their domain, the Missouri, the Platte, the Kansas, and the Arkansas, evidences of their long occupancy and control may yet be traced. The fairest of the hunting-grounds was theirs to traverse at will. But, unhappily, in these very advantages of territory and of easy access to it was found the occasion of their undoing. Two centuries ago, or earlier, the trapper and trader from Canada or from the South, by way of the Mississippi and Missouri, found ready access to them. Though cordially welcomed, these adventurers too frequently proved to be an insidious source of evil to them. In trade they were unscrupulous; in personal relations, too often conscienceless. As the result of such continued conditions the tribe steadily degenerated in character, as well as in the physical traits, activity and endurance. The handful of all the four bands or clans of the tribe surviving to-day in the Indian Territory would not equal one twenty-fifth of the tribe as it existed when Lieutenant Pike stood boldly before the hostile council here one hundred years ago.

In this connection one other more recent adverse condition deserves brief notice. The opening of the Santa Fe trade early in the last century, and later the overland migration to the Pacific coast by way of the Platte, the Kansas and Arkansas rivers, resulted too frequently in difficulties between these adventurers and the Panis; and, with reluctance, the statement is ventured that, at least in a fair proportion of the controversies, the emigrants were not entirely blameless. Instances were not always wanting wherein individual members of emigrant trains, in passing from the usual restraints of frontier life out upon the plains, appeared to feel that the rigid observance of the principle of *meum* and *tuum* was no longer strictly in force. A stray Pani pony or other unguarded property was therefore now and then carelessly appropriated. If the owner by and by appeared, and assumed to assert his rights, there were times when rough means were taken to be rid of him. In such cases the Pani, by patient watching, ere long at times found opportunity to liquidate his losses quietly and safely, and perhaps need not always be thought blameworthy. Let it not be forgotten, furthermore, that this tribe, within the recollection of many now present, has repeatedly rendered heroic and valuable service to the government in protecting property and life on the prairies against other hostile tribes.<sup>2</sup>

Having thus briefly sketched the two parties with whom we are especially concerned to-day, with the antecedents and traits of each, as now met in grave consultation for the first time, we are perhaps prepared to consider the circumstances that brought them, Lieutenant Pike and the Pani, together here. In the year 1802, four years previous to this council, Mr. Robert R. Livingston, our minister in France, ascertaining that Louisiana Territory and the two Floridas had been ceded by Spain to France, in order to secure free navigation of the Mississippi river to the states west of the Alleghanies began negotiations with Napoleon for the transfer of East Louisiana and the two Floridas to the United States. The sum of \$2,000,000 was suggested as a suitable compensation. For nearly a year no appreciable pro-

NOTE 2.—Occupying, as they did two or more centuries since, the choicest hunting-grounds east of the mountains, the Pawnees early incurred the hatred and jealousy of the Comanches,

gress was made. To expedite the matter meantime, President Jefferson appointed Mr. Monroe to act with Mr. Livingston. To the great surprise of the latter, however, in a conversation, Talleyrand, acting for Napoleon, April 11, 1803, suggested the purchase of the entire Louisiana Territory, comprising the present states of Louisiana, Arkansas, Indian Territory, Oklahoma, Missouri, Kansas, Colorado, Nebraska, Iowa, Minnesota, South Dakota, North Dakota, Montana, and Wyoming, together with East and West Florida, and inquired what compensation would perhaps be offered. In reply, Mr. Livingston ventured to suggest as probable \$4,000,000. Meantime, Mr. Monroe, dispatched by the president as special envoy to coöperate with Mr. Livingston in hastening the transaction, arrived. Soon thereafter the sum of \$20,000,000 was named by the French representative. Later this offer was reduced to \$16,000,000. At the final conclusion of the whole business the title to all of Louisiana Territory, with West Florida, as being a part of the state proper, *i. e.*, of Louisiana, passed to the United States. East Florida remained with Spain, since at the time of the treaty it had not been transferred to France. The entire cost of the domain as finally acquired was \$15,000,000; \$11,250,000 for the purchase proper, and \$3,750,000 to be expended by the United States in liquidating the so-called French spoliation claims; in other words, in paying claims presented by American citizens for losses suffered from armed vessels on the high seas.<sup>3</sup>

Very singularly, at the date of the completed treaty so important to both parties (April 30, 1803), neither knew the exact boundaries of the domain transferred. Other than between Texas and Louisiana proper, no limits had in any way been definitely agreed upon. The French seem to have consistently asserted that, north of the Red river, their possessions by settlement or exploration extended from the Mississippi to the Rocky Mountains, and northward to the British possessions. The Mexican government, on the other hand, laid claim upon all lands north of the Red river eastward to the Mississippi, westward to the mountains, and northward to the North Platte. To be sure, since the day of Coronado's vagarious exploitation, in

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Kiowas, Arapahoes, Utes, and Apaches, as also that of the Kansas, Osages and Missouris upon the east. As a result frequent raids and counter raids, incurring more or less loss upon either side, was the order of the day. Later the Dakotas and Cheyennes from the north joined in the fray. Placed thus as it were between the upper and nether millstone, the tribe put forth ever the most heroic efforts to maintain their territory undiminished. For nearly a century in a large degree they succeeded; but the inevitable at last came. By constant war and the visitations of contagious diseases their numbers began early to decline, till as early as Pike's visit there survived probably not half the original number. Yet their pristine heroism survived till recent days. Under the command of the late Maj. Frank North, of Columbus, Neb., for several years, in cooperation with regular soldiers, they rendered valuable and effective service as guides and scouts, as well as volunteer cavalry, upon the western frontier, against the Dakotas. For the time their original clan and sturdy spirit burned anew, eliciting cordial encomiums from regular officers of long experience upon the plains. The pitiful number of survivors to-day, 650, an abject remnant, are all that survive to remind us of the Quivirans of Coronado's day, or the Pawnees of a more recent date. The paternal policy of the government has hastened their decadence quite as effectively as the constant wars and turmoils of the earlier days.

NOTE 3.—Some years after the close of the revolutionary war, France, then at war with Great Britain, solicited assistance from the United States. This request our government declined. Thereupon French cruisers were authorized to capture and confiscate all American merchantmen engaged in trade with England. These depredations continued from 1778 to 1800, the French claiming that they were thereby offsetting losses entailed upon their citizens by the failure of our government to fulfill pledges assumed by the American negotiators of the treaty of alliance between the two powers in 1778. Later, in 1803, France released our government from certain treaty engagements, and in requital was relieved from paying any claims presented by our citizens for losses inflicted by French vessels, the United States thereby securing peace by entailing serious loss upon many citizens. The losers, or their heirs, repeatedly brought the matter before Congress, but no progress was made till 1855. That year the consideration of the entire question by an act of Congress was referred to the court of claims in Washington, with the result that claims to the amount of \$5,708,125.17 have been approved and paid, \$453,815.11 are awaiting payment, while about one-third of the claims are still before the court.

1541, toward an east and northeast still unknown, by a path almost as untraceable now as the bird's through the air, toward achievements that man's eye has yet to behold, occasional commands or special envoys from New Mexico had traversed this region more or less extensively in various directions, conducting negotiations with different tribes, frequently in hostile conflict with them, thereby at least presenting the appearance of exercising rightful authority over the domain; while at the same time French explorers, traders or commissioned envoys were busily passing to and fro, and by their complaisant manners and exuberant temperament winning and retaining the good will and confidence of the tribes. Where such relations existed there could be no doubt as to where the controlling power rested.

Of course, the knowledge that France was even entertaining the thought of conveying this extensive and valuable territory to the United States could not long be kept entirely secret. Spain early had knowledge of what was doing, and evidently dispatched at once intelligence of the matter to the officials in Mexico, with the natural suggestion that it might be to their advantage to at least make a demonstration of their interest, activity, and, so far as possible, their actual authority among the several tribes east of the mountains. Like intelligence was also probably forwarded to Mexico from East Florida, from Louisiana, and from St. Louis. President Jefferson, meantime, was quite as eager and active, no doubt, in this matter of exploration. His purchase had nearly doubled the area of the country. Not a few of his fellow citizens, especially in the older states, through ignorance of the character and value of the new acquisition, were for a season much inclined to cavil. The time-honored maxim, *omne ignotum pro magnifico*, which Mr. Jefferson, at least for a time, seemed inclined to regard as not entirely inapplicable prospectively in this instance, was no longer a seductive plea with the plodding hard-working farmers, as most of the population then were. To them, seeing was believing; and as all could not at once go forth to see and possess the new country, he very sensibly set about sending forth chosen men to spy out the several parts of the land and bring back to the people a report thereof. In this direction he was quite as promptly and effectively in evidence as his slower-footed rivals, the officials in Mexico. Three expeditions were soon organized and started.

The first, and as he thought most important, was placed under the command of Capt. Meriwether Lewis, at the time acting as his private secretary. Capt. William Clark was soon after detailed as associate commander. Under their joint authority were placed fourteen soldiers selected from the regular army, nine chosen riflemen long familiar with Indian warfare, and two French voyageurs to serve as hunters and interpreters. An additional body of six soldiers and nine boatmen were to attend them as far as the Mandan village on the Upper Missouri. In the instructions given by the President the officers were directed to observe carefully the topography of the country traversed, the soil, the flora and fauna, the minerals, the opportunities for commerce, the fur trade, etc.; the Indian tribes, so far as possible, were to be approached, their manner of life and character studied, their good will conciliated, etc. Occasionally a sentence is met in these instructions that, after the lapse of a hundred years, reads strangely; *e. g.*, when Captains Lewis and Clark are gravely directed to ascertain what tributary of the Upper Missouri will afford the most direct and practicable communication with the Pacific by the way of the Oregon, Columbia, or Colorado! After

some delay at St. Louis, in procuring suitable boats, providing necessary equipments, provisions, etc., May 4, 1804, the command turned their faces toward the distant, unknown destination. The ensuing winter was passed at the villages already mentioned. Resuming the voyage April 7, 1805, the Pacific was at last sighted at the mouth of the Columbia the 16th of November. The winter ensuing was occupied, so far as possible, in making researches in the region roundabout. March 23, 1806, their faces were turned homeward; and August 22, the long unheard of explorers quietly landed at St. Louis.

The results of this distant tour, occupying more than two and a half years, passed the most sanguine expectations. The information secured as to the extent, features and value of the domain traversed, as well as to the life and character of the numerous tribes of Indian occupants, when published six years later, was discredited almost as too highly colored. Imagination failed to appreciate the wonderful disclosures spread before it. Like the story of Magellan's circumnavigation, the published account was received for a time as a tale that is told.

The other exploring expeditions of like date planned by the President merit brief mention. One of them, led by Capt. Richard Sparks and Mr. Thomas Freeman, was designed to ascend the Red river, trace its sources, and examine the region drained by them. Scarcely was the company well started, however, from the Louisiana frontier, ere they were met and turned back by an armed force under Capt. Francisco Viana, in accordance with orders from Col. Antonio Cordero, governor of Texas. Originally the third exploration contemplated seems to have been intended to include the district drained by the waters of the Arkansas. Upon learning of the failure of the previous undertaking, the President modified the plan, to include now the country adjacent to the Black river and Washita north of the Red river as far as the well-known Hot Springs, in Arkansas. Mr. Thomas Hunter, and Mr. William Dunbar, a gentleman of recognized scientific accomplishments, were assigned to this task, and within four months had satisfactorily completed the enterprise.<sup>4</sup>

While these three undertakings were in contemplation or in progress of fulfilment, the disturbed officials in Mexico were not indifferent. Three enterprises, to be executed in concert, seem to have been matured. One of them we have already seen actively present in the neighborhood of the Red river.<sup>5</sup> Another, so far as actual record of it has been met, was intended apparently to move northward along the eastern slope of the Rocky Mountains as far as the North Platte. There is thus far no discovered evidence, however, that the movement was ever actually on foot. Of the third, happily, data sufficient to permit us to follow with tolerable accuracy its general

NOTE 4.—This gentleman, son of Sir Archibald Dunbar, in Scotland, came to this country soon after completing his education; settled in 1771 at Natchez, Miss., and soon became known as a successful planter. He early found time to familiarize himself with the flora and fauna of the Mississippi region, compiled an interesting description of the Mississippi river, and contributed several interesting papers to the American Philosophical Society, at Philadelphia, among them the first attempt ever made to enlist interest and attention in the study of the sign language of the Indians, the most remarkable product of Indian thought, and quite equal to the best of similar efforts put forth by our higher civilization. The journal of the tour kept by Mr. Dunbar as chief of the expedition, is one of the most interesting publications of the entire series of explorations resulting from the Louisiana purchase. The clear perception and suggestive style imparts an unfailing interest that even the casual reader may recognize. He also kept a detailed journal of the geometrical survey of the expedition.

NOTE 5.—This Red river, it will be understood, was the upper portion of the Canadian, not the Red river of Louisiana.

development are at hand. The officer in charge of this detachment was Don Facundo Malgares, a Spaniard by birth, of eminent and wealthy family. In character he was brave and chivalrous. At this time he was serving as lieutenant in the Mexican army, and had already highly distinguished himself in several campaigns against the Apaches—not an insignificant distinction in days more recent. The natural inference would be that, in recognition of such achievements, he had been advanced to the command of the most important, extended and difficult of these enterprises.

His instructions directed that he should move down the Red river 233 leagues, holding on the way a conference with the Comanche tribe; then swerve to the northeast, and to continue until the Pani village upon this spot was reached. But on the way difficulties early began to develop. By law, at that date, in Mexico all soldiers served without pay, and also furnished their own arms, horses, clothing and rations. The government supplied the ammunition only. As they were moving down the Red river provisions began to fail them. Thereupon inquiry was made of the commander as to whether he was going, and as to what was the purpose of the expedition. The curt reply was received, "Wherever my horse leads me." A few days later a petition bearing 200 signatures was presented to him, requesting that the militia might be permitted to return to New Mexico. Malgares at once ordered a halt, commanded the dragoons to erect a gallows, and the assembly was sounded. The petitioners were placed apart; the man who handed in the petition was singled out, tied, and given fifty lashes. The threat was then given out that any man that dared thereafter to grumble would be hanged. Pike remarks that this was the first instance of corporal punishment in the province of New Mexico. Naturally, we may infer that during the remainder of the march relations between commander and men were not entirely cordial.

When at length the Arkansas was reached, a detail of 240 men was left there to watch over and endeavor to recruit a large number of exhausted or injured horses. When we recall that the march was begun with an outfit of more than 2000 horses and mules, one for the use of each man and the rest to carry the various supplies, the inference seems not unwarranted that the advance had, for some reason, partaken of the nature of a forced march. Again, the prolonged stay of so large a body of meagerly provisioned troopers, 350 or more, at the village here, was a heavy burden upon their involuntary hosts. Possibly the stay here was intentionally extended, and instead of Malgares continuing on to the Pani villages on the Platte, as his instructions required, the head chief of the Grand or Chauí band there was persuaded to visit Malgares here, and an amicable compact of some sort seems to have been arranged between them. In the face of plausible objections of established usage, for the Indian is a chronic stickler in matters of precedent, there was in this instance one obvious advantage. It would have been exceedingly embarrassing had Malgares visited them, to be confronted perhaps daily by the sight of Pani braves innocently riding about the village on horses easily recognizable as stolen, as chance would have it, from his own command, while upon the Red river a few weeks previous. Other ominous omissions there were in the Spanish commander's program: he had been directed to negotiate treaties with the Omaha and Kansas tribes, and probably also with the Osages. No attempt was made to meet any one of these tribes. More than that, so complete was the knowledge

had in Mexico, before Malgares started, of the exploratory work then doing on our part that he had been especially charged to intercept and turn back Pike in his progress over the plains toward the frontier of New Mexico. This most important duty was entirely neglected. Curiously he did remember, however, to arrest such unfortunate traders and trappers as crossed his path on his return march to Santa Fe, and to deliver them into the hands of the authorities there. Nearly a year later Pike found several of these hapless sufferers living in abject poverty in Natchitoches, La.

Having now discussed briefly the achievements of this commando from New Mexico, we are at last prepared to recognize and welcome another manner of man, the man of the occasion, unbeknown, it would seem, so far, even to himself, divinely commissioned to inaugurate quietly but effectively the most creditable work of setting back into its due limits for all time the most ruthless and bloody political system that ever marred this continent—Zebulon Montgomery Pike.<sup>6</sup>

At this point, as an effective but not uncommon illustration of a familiar maxim, we have occasion to meet again the names of Lieutenant Pike and Gen. James Wilkinson, two remarkable men, apparently then in intimate relations as honorably ambitious members of the same profession. While President Jefferson was maturing plans for expediting his explorations, it seems that the restlessly active general, then in command of the western frontier, with headquarters at St. Louis, had also received permission to make a reconnaissance of the Upper Mississippi river and the adjacent region. To discharge this service he designated Lieutenant Pike July 30, 1804. So expeditious were the preparations for the enterprise that August 9, in a keel-boat seventy feet in length, propelled by the twenty soldiers that accompanied him, and carrying provisions for six months, the party was on the way northward. The instructions given to the commander required that, while ascending the river, he should carefully study the lands on either side to its sources; indicate sites suitable for military posts; negotiate treaties with the several tribes met; establish friendly relations between the Dakotas and the Chippeways; inquire into the dealings of the Northwest Company (Canadian), at the time controlling an extensive fur trade within our territory, and to correct certain alleged oppressive abuses in their commerce with the natives, if found actually existing; and finally to trace and map the head waters of the Mississippi, with a view to ascertaining its true source. To fulfil these charges the northern portion of the present state of Minnesota was traversed in various directions, by himself and his men, during the bitter cold of a winter in that latitude. April 30, 1806, with its manifold duties satisfactorily discharged, the expedition reported at St. Louis.

Scarcely two and a half months elapsed ere another more extended and varied trust, apparently an indorsement of the work just completed, was assigned. In this new assignment Pike is ordered to ascend the Missouri

NOTE 6.—While Pike was sojourning, after his arrest, in Chihuahua, by the courtesy of Lieutenant Malgares, he was introduced to many of the prominent families of the city. Spain at that date was under the control of the French. Being thus, as it were, at sea as to their probable destiny, for political discussion was rife in many parts of Mexico, and at no quarter more frequent and ardent than in Chihuahua. Pike was frequently present at such debates. Whenever invited he instantly declared in favor of national independence as against further European control. This conduct, coming to the ears of Commandant General Salcedo, Pike was cautioned through Lieutenant Malgares that further agitation might seriously affect his personal safety. Though Pike was thus silenced, the discussion started by him continued under the leadership of the famous priest, Miguel Hidalgo, of Costilla, better known as Hidalgo, till he was captured and put to death. Soon thereafter Chihuahua became a great center of agitation for independence, till finally freedom was secured and acknowledged.

and Osage rivers to the village of the Grand Osages; thence to proceed overland to this place; from here northeast to the Pani villages on the Pla'te; then turn southwest toward the Arkansas in the vicinity of Great Bend, and continue that route till the frontier of New Mexico was reached; from this point he was to direct his course toward the sources of the Red river, carefully explore the region, descend the river to the Mississippi, and proceed thence directly to St. Louis. It seems fitting and fortunate that he was, in this instance, and probably also in the previous expedition, allowed to select his own men to accompany him, twenty in number. In one only, in both explorations, was he mistaken. The rest, even amidst the severest sufferings, served him to a man ably and cheerfully, till incapacitated.

Starting from St. Louis July 15, after thirty-five days of arduous contention with the roily shoals and tortuous shallows of the deceptive Missouri and Osage rivers, he reached the village of the Grand Osages. Twelve days were here occupied in purchasing an outfit of horses sufficient for the transportation of needful provisions and other supplies. One of those days was made specially memorable by the restoration to their kindred of about forty Osages, who had been ransomed by our government from captivity with the Potawatomies and entrusted to Pike for delivery to their kindred—a service no doubt grateful to him, as was also the establishing of friendly relations between the Osage and Kansas tribes. Resuming again the progress, now overland, by a somewhat direct course, nineteen days brought Pike, according to the record in his journal, nearly 170 miles on the way hither, as far as to the present site of Marion, in Marion county, in this state. From that camp he sent forward to this place Doctor Robinson and a Pawnee to announce his approach. Five days' advance, ninety-eight miles nearer, and no intelligence is received from here—a discouraging feature. Two days later the outlook becomes grave; on the 22d a Pani hunter is met, who affirms that the day after the doctor reached the village here the chief set out with forty or fifty horses to meet and escort them to the village, but had lost his way—the only known instance of an Indian chief being found unable to orient himself on his native heath, as well as a surprising breach of Indian *punctilio*. Two days further and strolling Panis were much in evidence, and with them came the display of medals, horses, bridles, saddles, blankets, etc., all too plainly of Spanish origin—not an amicable manifestation. The next day, after advancing twelve miles, they were met three miles distant from here, and the command was curtly requested to halt till a formal reception might be arranged. The solution of their undiplomatic attitude was now becoming manifest; they had felt that, till their recent visitors might be well out of the way, an attempt to extend an artistic greeting to scarcely more than a score of dusty, bedraggled footmen, after their recent great display of good feeling toward the Spaniards, even though the sincerity of their friendship had meantime very largely abated toward the mounted, gaily caparisoned, lordly duns, 350 strong, would be, even to an Indian's mind, too much of an anti-climax. Still, the abatement of friendliness toward the Spaniards did not indicate friendliness toward these newcomers. Pike and his men were kept waiting till the Panis could welcome the Osage chief and his brayes, who had accompanied Pike thus far, into the village. At his leisure the chief finally appeared again with a large body of mounted, fully equipped warriors, halted a mile distant, divided them into two parties,

rode forward at full speed and began to circle about Pike and his men in opposite directions. This display was kept up till they had reached the outskirts of the village. Here a halt was made, a few horses were presented to the command, and it passed on to a spot beyond the village and encamped. Pike makes no direct statement as to what his feelings were in the face of such deliberate courtesy.

He was, however, soon made to realize keenly each day that he must be prepared to face studied and persistent opposition, if not open hostility. Feeling, therefore, that he should at once take a decided stand, he moved his camp nearer the village, to the top of a hill that enabled him to overlook it, and thus know what was going on therein. Here the head chief visited him and made a display of a Mexican commission, bearing the date June 15, 1806, presented to him by his recent guest, Lieutenant Malgares—a studied affront. Prompted perhaps by this incident, on September 28 the Pani leader held a conference with certain chiefs of the Osages and Kansas tribes that were present, and concluded a treaty of friendship with each delegation.<sup>7</sup> The next day, September 29, became memorable with the Republican Panis for more than a half century. Apparently at Pike's urgent and repeated solicitation a formal council was at last held. An evident crisis was at hand, and more than 400 warriors, many of them bearing arms, were in attendance. Pike, in his opening address, after averting in a conciliatory tone to certain matters of mutual interest to the Panis and to our government, in connection with other demands presented, referred to the presence of numerous Spanish flags in the village. Then, turning toward one of them then floating before the head chief's door, he demanded that it be lowered and delivered to him, and our national ensign unfurled in its stead. Several responses to his speech were made, but each orator carefully avoided any allusion to the offensive flag. Pike, in reply, protested that they could not serve two fathers; they must take side with the Spaniards or yield to their American father; and renewed his demand for the flag. A prolonged and ominous silence ensued; till suddenly, interrupting the long suspense, an aged Indian quietly arose, went to the door, lowered the flag, folded it, brought it in, and laid it at Pike's feet. Receiving an American flag, he unfurled it in the place of the offensive colors of Spain. Noticing that the faces of all present in the council were downcast over this change, Pike, as soothing their feelings, remarked that inasmuch as they had in exchanging flags virtually acknowledged their American father, he would return the Spanish flag, with the understanding that it should not again be unfurled while he continued with them.

In this occurrence, so unexpected and so sweeping in its results, is disclosed the radical distinction between the white man and the Indian. In social life and in the usual activities of life the two are much alike. A white infant reared among Indians would in these relations become essentially Indian; and, *vice versa*, an Indian child, so reared among the whites, would in a fair degree acquire the common traits of his associates. More than this, all the tribes, to greater or less degree, possess an oral, and even in part a written literature of no mean character; and their code also, in

NOTE 7.—The Pawnee chief, fearful that he might not be, unaided, able to hold his ground against Pike, had been quietly negotiating with the Osages and Kansas, in order to secure their support in his scheme to destroy Pike and his force, if fit opportunity presented, or to influence them to turn back. Evidently he did not find the two tribes favorable to his fond scheme. At all events the desired treaty was not concluded.

ordinary relations, contains provisions that are eminently commendable and salutary. But when we contemplate the Indian as a statesman; as being able to work out a coherent system of political, patriotic conduct, whereby there may be secured, when necessary, the abeyance of personal preference or ambition in behalf of the general welfare, the Indian taken in masses has always failed. King Philip in New England, Pontiac and Tecumseh in the central West, and Chief Joseph in the remoter Northwest, each of them endowed with no ordinary gifts, sought to establish a system of extended civic-combination, in order to enforce thereby the recognition of the common rights and well-being of the Indian. Each failed completely, primarily because the ordinary Indian was not equal to the conditions required. In a much smaller way a combination of the so-called Republican Panis here, was, one hundred years ago to-day, attempted, after they were apprised of Pike's approach. Sarecherish, or Angry Chief (Pike's form of the name, *Characterish*, is manifestly incorrect), had evidently persuaded the warriors to adopt for the impending and momentous exigency a special policy of his own devising. Had the braves only been able to persist in carrying out the scheme, had they only held together, Pike and his chosen men would have ended their explorations here; and the large space so fitly occupied since in our annals by the narrative of his heroic services cheerfully rendered to our country in the hour of need—and in so doing he gave all that he had—would never have existed. But fortunately he well knew the constitutional defect of the Indian, his inability to maintain steadfastly and carry to a complete issue a complex scheme of concerted action; and so the too well devised plan of massacre crumbled, as he no doubt had foreseen that it would. The Indian who lowered and surrendered the offensive colors, Kiwiktaka, *White Bull*, had years before been a chief of note and influence, and naturally his unexpected action completely broke the spell. It was indeed bad medicine administered by one Indian to his fellow tribesmen.

In the little band of soldiers, on the other hand, we see the exact counterpart. Pike was a man of unusual discernment. He was also, under an equable, usually quiet exterior, a man of noticeable ability and force. He had himself selected the men who accompanied him. For nearly two months and a half he had been daily associating with them, training them, and working with them. He felt, no doubt, that they were in entire sympathy with him, and so he implicitly trusted them. When the emergency came, therefore, they did not fail him. The lesson that the red man failed signally and repeatedly to appreciate, they, under a most competent leader, had thoroughly mastered. *United we stand; divided we fall.* It was this innate defect of the Indian, repeatedly manifested, that gave this continent finally to the white man.

October 2 information was brought by friendly Indians (Kansas) that the Pani chief had declared that his braves were resolved to prevent Pike from proceeding further on his explorations. Such a promise they had made, it would seem, to the Spanish commander before his departure. When this word came to the ears of his men, Pike seemed to note with evident pride and pleasure the comments made by them in anticipation of such a crisis. As more horses were needed for conveying all the baggage safely, an attempt was made to purchase some in the village, with only meager success. Four days later, October 7, camp was struck for the departure. As the Indians, in case an attack was to be made upon him while moving through the village

when he began his departure, could use the lodges as places of refuge, he formed his men in a compact body, the pack-train accompanying, and passed round the village to the top of a hill to the south from it. From there it became at once evident that the thought of attacking was actual. Many braves were to be seen moving nervously about with arms in readiness. But the unanimity and entire coolness of the little band had evidently overawed them. Pike had beforehand instructed them that by acting in perfect concert, if attacked outside the village, with musket and bayonet they could kill a hundred Indians ere they were all killed—20 resolute men facing 500.

After a brief pause, Pike, with one soldier and his interpreter, galloped back into the village directly to the lodge of the chief, and was soon satisfied that no serious trouble need be apprehended.<sup>8</sup> Returning, therefore, to his men, he resumed his march, conforming his course somewhat to the trail of Malgares's retiring command, and proceeded south by west till the Arkansas was reached, October 18, at or near Great Bend. It is interesting to note Pike's equable poise during this advance; from the number of fires made by Spaniards at their different camps, he estimated with accuracy the number of men in the column; from the demeanor of the Panis who accompanied him, in apparent friendliness, for a few days, from the village, on their usual buffalo hunt, he inferred that their hostile attitude during his stay there might have been in some measure a matter of temporary policy. Their expert and effective use of the bow and arrow in the pursuit of larger game evidently elicited his admiration. His observation of scenes traversed and his alert judgment of conditions presented were remarkably correct. His long-continued study of military science in the text-books then most esteemed, as well as his daily experience as a subaltern, had influenced his entire conduct; and yet the simplicity and genuineness of his character as a man was in no wise appreciably affected. In both these phases—as a soldier and as a man—he impressed others. Even the erstwhile hostile Pani chief, at their final parting, October 10, seemed to evince a genuine respect if not profound admiration of him.

Some days after reaching the Arkansas, October 27, Lieutenant Wilkinson, with five of the command, was detailed to convey to General Wilkinson, at St. Louis, a report of the results of the expedition thus far. Pike, with the sixteen men remaining, continued westward along the river, and November 23 entered the present state of Colorado, where four days later he saw for the first time the distant peaks of the Rocky Mountains, one of which was ere long most appropriately to become a permanent and most impressive memorial to himself. His last day in Kansas was rendered noteworthy by an unexpected encounter with a band of sixty Chaui Panis, well armed with bows and arrows, lances and guns, returning from an unsuccessful foray upon the Comanches. Naturally, they were in an ugly mood, and proceeded at once to take sundry liberties with the sixteen way-worn soldiers. For a time it seemed probable that their scalps might soon be borne in triumph to the Platte river, in lieu of anticipated trophies from their southern foemen. The sturdy attitude of the commander, however, seconded by his handful of men, soon freed them from further annoyance. Small as his number was, he seems to express himself as almost regretful

NOTE 8.—The meaning of this maneuver was a personal challenge to the chief to meet Pike at once, as friend or foe; a bold act, prompted by his knowledge of Indian methods. In this instance he cowed the chief for the time. Such challengers, however, did not always escape so fortunately.

that he did not at the outset meet the Pani insolence with instant resistance — the only case in which he was ever so treated by Indians.<sup>9</sup>

After the mountains were reached, for two months, till January 25, 1807, he and his party were almost continuously engaged in an endeavor to trace out the various sources of the Arkansas among the mountains. As their horses were all worn out or had perished, the work was prosecuted almost entirely on foot, through deep snow, amid bitter cold, with only light summer clothing for protection. At times game, their only resource for food, became so scarce that the most persistent efforts enabled them to accomplish very little. Their only protection at night much of the time was pine boughs spread upon the snow, and no cover to shelter them. January 18, the rest of the men being completely broken down by reason of frozen feet and lack of food, Lieutenant Pike and one other, as being in the best condition, went hunting, in hope of thereby securing some relief from their dire distress. After tramping in vain all day, rather than return to camp empty-handed and thereby aggravate the patient, hopeless suffering of their starving comrades, they preferred to pass the night unsheltered amid naked rocks upon the mountain side, almost wishing that they might not themselves survive to see the cheerless morrow. Providentially, the next day, after crawling a mile through the deep snow, they killed a buffalo, and were able to reach camp at dusk with a welcome supply for their suffering friends, the first food had for four days. Such was one of their bitter experiences. Pike records with evident pride that but once, amid all these extreme hardships, did he hear any murmuring or fretful complaint, and then from only one man. On the contrary, there was throughout a mutual appreciation and esteem existing between commander and men. January 28 it was resolved to cross the Sangre de Cristo mountains, an ill-starred movement, for in so doing the party passed unwittingly, so Pike represents, into the domain of New Mexico, and began to descend the Del Norte, supposing it to be the Red river. Upon a western affluent of this stream a stockade was finally erected, to serve as a protection for the remainder of the winter. After a fortnight's sojourn there the entire party was arrested by Mexican troops from Santa Fe.

On February 27 one of the two officers in command of the Mexican force, Lieut. Don Bartolomeo Fernandez, charged with numerous letters and dispatches from his associate, Lieutenant Saltelo, with a command of fifty men, started to escort Lieutenant Pike to Santa Fe. In answer to an inquiry from Pike, with some hesitation, Saltelo explained that his instructions were that he should remain to collect all of the men who, because of injuries or exhaustion, had not yet been able to reach the stockade, and then conduct the entire party to Santa Fe, an explanation that for the time failed to afford the inquirer entire satisfaction. On the way, at the village of San Juan, Pike was accosted by a man,<sup>10</sup> claiming to be from the United States,

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NOTE 9.—The mention of this encounter indicates what bold marauders the Pawnees were at that date. Incursions far to the southwest against the Comanches in New Mexico, and even into Mexico, were not uncommon. The chief object was, of course, to secure horses or captives, preferably boys and girls, for trade with the tribes toward the east and north. As indicated in this instance, they were not always successful in their forays. Though traveling on horseback, in case it became necessary to fight, offensively or defensively, they always preferred to meet their enemies on foot, a lesson that Xenophon taught his Greeks more than 2000 years since.

NOTE 10.—This fellow, Baptiste La Lande, was a renegade from Illinois or St. Louis. Some years earlier he had been engaged by Mr. William Morrison, a merchant in Cahokia, Ill., to convey a consignment of goods to the Pawnee country, and after opening a trade there, to pass rapidly to New Mexico with the greater part of the goods and dispose of them there at larger prices.

whose conduct soon indicated that he was an emissary of the local authorities, to ascertain the purpose of his presence in that region, a surmise very soon verified. The fellow, as developed later, reported that the lieutenant was formerly governor of Illinois, a sufficient warning as to what yet might be in store. The following evening, March 3, Santa Fe, at that day a city of vivid contrasts, was reached. After dismounting, he was conducted at once through various rooms, carpeted with skins of buffaloes, bears and other large animals, into the audience room, there to await the convenience of the governor, Don Joaquin del Real Allencaster. Upon his appearance a series of rapid interrogations and quick replies ensued, as follows (in French) :

"GOVERNOR: Do you speak French?

PIKE: Yes, sir.

GOVERNOR: You come to reconnoiter our country, do you?

PIKE: I marched to reconnoiter our own.

GOVERNOR: In what character are you?

PIKE: In my proper character, an officer of the United States army.

GOVERNOR: And this Robinson—is he attached to your party?

PIKE: No.

GOVERNOR: Do you know him?

PIKE: Yes; he is from St. Louis.

GOVERNOR: How many men have you?

PIKE: Fifteen.

GOVERNOR: And this Robinson makes sixteen?"

PIKE: I have already told your excellency that he does not belong to my party, and shall answer no more interrogations on that subject.

GOVERNOR: When did you leave St. Louis?

PIKE: July 15.

GOVERNOR: I think you marched in June.

PIKE: No, sir!"

In this colloquy, not the only one that had place between the two, the conscious dignity of the official and the poise and directness of the plain man are not entirely devoid of interest and suggestiveness. The governor was evidently nettled, though formally courteous, by the bearing of this

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But after this was done he quietly appropriated the funds received and settled for life in Santa Fe. His call upon Pike was evidently inspired by the Mexican authorities, with a view of ascertaining the actual motive of his presence there. In his awkward attempt, he of course failed to elicit the desired information. In reporting to Governor Allencaster he claimed that Pike had formerly been governor of Illinois, ignorantly basing his report upon the fact that for a time Pike had been in command of the troops then quartered at Kaskaskia, Ill.

NOTE II.—Doctor Robinson was seemingly a free lance in the expedition, allowed place there by General Wilkinson, and for a time acted nominally as physician to the command, while his real charge was more likely to observe the conduct of the expedition, and later, upon nearing the confines of Mexico, to make his way to Santa Fe and there serve as an agent for the doughty general at St. Louis, by informing him as to the actual conditions of the province. Before leaving the command in the stockade upon the Conejos, Robinson confided to Pike that his motive for visiting New Mexico was of a pecuniary nature, apparently to collect an overdue claim from some delinquent debtor there. February 6 he set out alone for Santa Fe, and was thereafter occupied with matters other than the health of his recent comrades. There is reason, therefore, to infer that he was in some guise acting under special instructions from General Wilkinson, who was undoubtedly co-partner with Burr in the great southwest conspiracy. After Pike reached Santa Fe, March 3, in an interview with Governor Allencaster he used language that might imply that he had no personal relations with Robinson, but during the entire progress of the expedition he seems to have been quite familiar with him; and soon after returning to the United States he attempted to aid in an endeavor to secure for Robinson a place in our regular army. At this point the query naturally presents itself, Was Pike in any degree aware of Wilkinson's purpose in thus giving Robinson a place in the expedition; and if so, was Pike also in any way personally involved in the ignoble business? That an alert, cautious officer like Pike could be easily hoodwinked in such a case is, to say the least, surprising. The matter most suggestive of his being not altogether free from malign taint is that an officer of so high character heretofore and such keen discernment should unwittingly cross the Sangre de Cristo mountains into New Mexico, thereby come upon the Rio Grande, descend it for some distance, and finally construct a permanent camp upon a tributary of that river, all the while supposing that he was upon the Red river (the Canadian)—all this is too remote to admit of easy credence. Evidently *there is a fly in the ointment here*—a thought reluctantly but unavoidably admitted. But there is a welcome counterpart to

new type of a man, from whom each reply, like the adroit *riposte* of a trained fencer, came instantly and effectively. On a subsequent interview the soldier was the interrogator, while the official, as respondent, was soon reduced to a confession of ignorance. No wonder that his excellency soon became restive in the presence of such a charge; for two days after his arrival, with a Spanish escort, he was on his way to report to the commandant, Gen. Don Nimesio Salcedo, at Chihuahua. To the governor's credit, however, be it said, that in personal intercourse he seems to have been ever courteous and considerate. The morning that his charge took his departure, Governor Allencaster presented him with a neck-cloth and shirt, made, as he explained, for himself by a sister in Spain, and never yet worn by any one; and deigned to convey him six miles on the way in his own official coach, parting finally with the kindly charge: "Remember Allencaster, in peace or war."

A suggestive incident occurred after the convoy was well started on the way southward: A portion of Pike's men, apparently those who had sufficiently recovered from injuries received during the previous winter by reason of starvation or exposure to extreme cold, were permitted to carry arms throughout the remainder of the march. The invincible Spaniard, by long experience, had come to entertain a vivid sense of awe, when in the vicinity of the enterprising Apaches and Comanches, who at frequent intervals were wont to recreate themselves and their sure-footed ponies in forays over the region now being traversed. Very naturally, therefore, the thought had occurred to the receptive mind of some one in authority that the presence of a few armed Americans might exert a wholesome, dissuasive influence over the too familiar raider. The device was indeed timely, though not entirely patriotic.

After a few days' progress, near the village of San Fernandez, on the Rio Grande, without forewarning, Lieutenant Malgares joined the command. For once the evenly poised Pike quite lost his self-control,<sup>12</sup> and for a time rode apart in an effort to recover himself. Malgares, apparently without a trace of Castilian pride or reserve, courteously endeavored to reassure him. Within two hours, Pike adds, they were entirely at ease. During the remainder of their intercourse, Malgares seemed to find special pleasure in obliging or aiding his companion, a conduct that was thoroughly appreciated. Happily, Pike was not the only beneficiary. The narrative records that this Spanish gentleman was habitually kind and helpful to the poor and needy, frequently emptying his pockets in attempts to relieve their suffering.

Upon reaching Chihuahua, Malgares, apparently fearful that the results of his campaign might not receive approval, reported his return by letter, not in person, to Commandant General Salcedo. To his great relief, however, in an audience granted by the general the following day, his conduct during the expedition was commended. Upon the entrance of Pike, intro-

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all this. Six years later, now Brigadier-general Pike, commanding for the first time an independent force upon the field of battle, mortally wounded at the moment of victory, lay dying upon the deck of a warship upon Lake Ontario. His victory just achieved was twofold: a woe-ful series of defeats was at last retrieved by a victory that was final, but at the cost of the young commander's life. He was now no longer the tainted self upon the remote frontier of Mexico. The costly sacrifice just made had rehabilitated him. Let this expiate!

NOTE 12.—Some of the Pawnees that met Pike upon his visit to the village on the Republican, still surviving in the early '30's, recounted some of their recollections of him to a missionary then residing with the tribe. Their statements were of a common tone. To them he was a new type of man; as they expressed it, *he was a man by himself*. He was quiet, but resolute; he did more than he said; was always the same (never lost his even poise); his face never blanched nor his eye quailed; his eye was never unsteady, nor did his lips ever quiver, meaning that he was without fear, and he was always truthful.

duced by Lieutenant Malgares, a brief but very formal conversation was had between the general and Lieutenant Pike. The papers of the latter were carefully examined by the general and a large portion of them never recovered. During his sojourn of nearly a month, through the courtesy of Malgares, he was frequently made welcome and entertained by many prominent citizens.

#### CORONADO'S MARCH TO QUIVIRA.<sup>13</sup>

The familiar sayings that actual life presents more frequent and impressive surprises or contrasts than fiction can achieve; that extremes so meet more frequently than the ordinary observer is aware have become truisms long since. Raleigh, the fond favorite of Queen Bess, and later mounting the scaffold at the behest of the sordid, driveling James; Napoleon at Austerlitz, and a few years after a peevish, mental and physical derelict at St. Helena, are instances that may be readily paralleled. Of such experiences, Spain, once the proud mistress of two continents, and later shorn of all domain save the impoverished soil and unthrifty population of the Iberian peninsula, presents a vivid illustration of the trite truth. One such instance directly concerns us as a fitting foreground in connection with this writing.

February 22, 1540, there were assembled at Compostela, in the state of Guadalajara, upon the western coast of Mexico, for formal inspection by the viceroy, Antonio de Mendoza, a military force numbering, according to Mota Padilla, a creditable authority, 260 mounted cavaliers, 70 footmen, and more than 1000 friendly Indian allies. To furnish this command with ample supplies of every kind that might be useful the arsenals in Spain had been impoverished, while Mexico had been ransacked for immense quantities of provisions of every kind, the country had been levied upon for horses for the cavaliers and their attendants, as also for pack animals for the convey-

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NOTE 13.—In the preparation of this paper the following documents have been constantly consulted:

Relacion de la jornada de Cibola compuesta por Pedro de Castaneda de Najera Donde se trata de todos aquellos poblados, y ritos y costumbres, la qual fue ano de 1540.

Relacion hecha por el capitán Juan Jaramillo, de la jornada que había hecho a la tierra nueva en Nueva Espana y al descubrimiento de Cibola, yendo por general Francisco Vazquez Coronado.

Of these two narratives, as published in the fourteenth annual report of the Bureau of Ethnology, Washington, D. C., of the seventy-six pages of the translation of the first text, only four are concerned directly with the actual march toward Quivira, the investigations there made, and the final return thence to New Mexico; while in the brief record kept by Captain Jaramillo two of the nine pages are devoted exclusively to these matters. The former was manifestly deficient as an observer, and to that defect must be added the fact that he did not hold the pen of a ready writer. His topographical statements are not always clear, while his use of the Spanish language, apparently his mother tongue, is at times quite beyond the reach of precise elucidation. Jaramillo, on the contrary, seems to have been an officer whose mental cast bespeaks the presence of a rare precision and easy mastery in the recording of scenes and experiences met by the way.

To these two documents should be added two briefer records: *Carta de Francisco Vazquez Coronado al Emperador dandole cuenta de la expedicion a la provincia de Quivira. Desta provincia de Tiguex, 20 Octubre, 1541;* and *Relacion del suceso de la jornada que Francisco Vazquez hizo en el descubrimiento de Cibola, 1541.*

The first, third and fourth of these documents may also be found in volume 9 of a series of twenty volumes relating to early explorations in America, translated and published under the (supposed) supervision of Henri Ternaux-Compans, Paris, 1837-41. The Jaramillo narrative appears in volume 6 of the same series.

La relacion que dio Alvar Nunez Cabeca de Vaca de lo acasedido, translated from the Spanish text by Buckingham Smith. The title has legitimate place here as indicating that the course of de Vaca and Coronado actually touched at one point, though at different dates.

J. H. Simpson, brevet brigadier-general, *Coronado's March*, published in the annual report of the Smithsonian Institution for 1869. This carefully prepared paper is the result of a continued and painstaking inspection of the ground actually traversed, so far as General Simpson was able to discover, by Coronado's command after they passed the Tecolote mountains and entered the plains toward the east. It merits careful study from any one interested in the subject.

Cyrus Thomas, *Quivira—A Suggestion*, Volume 10, Magazine of American History. A brief, but valuable contribution to the much-voiced question.

Hon. James W. Savage, *The Discovery of Nebraska, and A Visit to Nebraska in 1862*. In the first article the writer presents an insistent plea to the effect that Coronado found no Quivira till he had penetrated eastern Nebraska. As a linen Nebraskan it was for some years my fond

ance of food for man and beast. The cavaliers were furnished with swords, lances, arquebuses, shields, armor and crossbows at will. Mendoza also contributed supplies of various kinds so liberally that he almost beggared himself. A more impressive and picturesque procession has probably not been since beheld in Mexico than was afforded as the column passed, Spaniards and allied Indians, in review before the eyes of the viceroy, now at last actually entering upon a campaign for exploration or conquest, as the case might be, of unknown extent or duration. Naturally the most sanguine expectations were entertained of its entire success. The route taken was to be north so far as the head of the gulf of California, and thence eastward to an undetermined distance.

At the head of this proud cortege rode the chieftain whose actions and experiences after he passed eastward from New Mexico we are to attempt to trace and elucidate, Francisco Vazquez Coronado, a Spanish gentleman, it is a pleasure to record, thus far of unsullied repute, of ample fortune, and of acknowledged ability.

Scarcely had two years passed ere the counterpart of this hopeful picture was presented. The ragged, wayworn survivors of the expedition, returning from their futile quest, scarcely reached the frontiers of Mexico ere they began to leave their ranks and to attempt to make their way unknown, by devious paths, to their homes, if such they had. There was nowhere even the semblance of a welcome awaiting them. The proud heroes of the review at Compostela, exulting in the thought of victories to be won and fabulous wealth to be had for the mere taking, after two years of want and loss were seen returning homeward empty-handed, a mortification to their kinsmen and a malign burden to the country.

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desire that the theory might prove correct. But a repeated personal inspection of central Kansas and eastern Nebraska, together with a careful study of the narratives of Coronado's movements after crossing the Arkansas, satisfied me that he did not move further north than the Kansas river, with his headquarters probably in the vicinity of Junction City. During his brief sojourn he may for a short distance have ascended some of the near-by northern tributaries, as the Republican and others. Considerations of the topography round about, the frequent streams, the ever-varying surface features, bedecked by the pleasing variety and vigorous growth of its native products, attracted from the members of Coronado's escort far more frequent notice and mention than its northern sister could offer as an inducement to proceed further toward the north. But beyond this, so far as the tradition of the Pawnees (the original Quivirans) indicated, Nebraska was not finally occupied by them till the early part of the seventeenth century, perhaps during the years 1620-50. Governor Onate, in his exploring tour of 1598, found the region of the Kansas still occupied by them.

The Spanish Conquest of New Mexico, by W. W. H. Davis, Doylestown, Pa., 1869. This volume is in every respect a creditable production. The author, while busily engaged in multifarious official duties in New Mexico, soon after the American occupation, early became interested in the history of the territory, and with only feeble assistance succeeded in burrowing from the accumulated Spanish archives in Santa Fe materials sufficient to shed a flood of welcome light upon the earlier conditions during the long period of the Spanish occupation. His account of Coronado's tour is brief, as he was probably not able to consult at the time the original Spanish narratives, and so he was obliged to rely upon an imperfect French translation, already noticed.

Historical Sketches of New Mexico, from the Earliest Records to the American Occupation, by L. Bradford Prince, Kansas City, 1883. In chapter 5 of this volume we find a discussion of Coronado's Quiviran march. As there presented by this author, Coronado advanced quite to the Missouri river, at some point between Kansas City and Council Bluffs. Of course the distance from the Canadian river to this vaguely presented point might have been traversed within the forty-eight days allowed; but there is an entire dearth of evidence that such a distance was made. It is simply impossible that the command should have beheld the Missouri, the most imposing and mighty stream east of the Rocky Mountains, and made no mention of it. And so the vital fact in this chapter, the exact point at which Coronado's movement actually did touch upon the Missouri, is left entirely in the air.

History of Arizona and New Mexico, 1530-1888, volume 17 of the works of Hubert Howe Bancroft, San Francisco, 1889. The view taken by this writer of the much-vexed theme of the exact site of the elusive Quivira, as here presented is partially satisfactory, inclining apparently to the conclusion reached by General Simpson, an excellent authority, to the effect that Quivira occupied a point in eastern Kansas between the Arkansas and Missouri rivers. The only stricture to be offered as to this decision is to the effect that topographical data, as already stated, as developed in the last days of Coronado's advance, seems to afford us satisfactory evidence that Quivira was in 1540, and for some time thereafter, upon the Kansas river in central Kansas. Upon that point the statements are distinct and authoritative.

Returning now to our immediate text, the progress of this historic march east and northeast from New Mexico, so far as now known Coronado was undoubtedly the first white man that ever trod the soil of Kansas. By what route he reached its southern border, however, just how far in each direction he penetrated within its domain, what were his exact expectations and daily experiences while here, no one, at this distance in time, has been able to precisely determine. Oh, that the order of a later day, that every commander of an expedition sent out by the authorities of Mexico should keep a daily record of his movements, experiences, and discoveries, had been in force at that day! A journal of such character from the hand of Coronado would undoubtedly have proven a noteworthy contribution. Many a crooked way would have no doubt been made plain, much to his honor.

The relations now accessible, other than the letter of Coronado to the King of Spain, bearing the date of October 20, 1541, as giving a record of his various movements prior to and during the final direct march toward Quivira, afford evidence that they were compiled some time subsequent to the accomplishment of the expedition, apparently without reference to any contemporary notes, and under conditions widely diverse from the scenes and occurrences described. There is no apparent ground to suppose that the writers had any direct knowledge of other narratives than their own. Each of them may therefore be taken as an original and independent document, each serving in certain details to supplement or reinforce the others. To aid in interpreting them correctly, however, in the elucidation of Coronado's movements while endeavoring to reach the domain of Quivira, or the present Kansas, it seems desirable that certain important preliminary considerations be here presented.

The careful computation of the distance or progress made each day was most essential. The usual method seems to have been to detail a man or men each day, whose duty it became to carefully pace the day's march. The device was certainly easy and at casual view seemed no doubt fairly reliable. When, however, the influence of the topographical features encountered during each day's march are considered—the ever-recurring ascents and descents, the detours in avoidance of obstacles, the crossing of streams, the interference from surface growths, the nature of the soil as firm or yielding—all such conditions rendered necessary a careful revision of the distances apparently covered. Yet there is nowhere found evidence of any such correction even being thought of. Add to the foregoing data the steady decrease in the vigor of this human odometer, and the total reduction in the nominal daily estimates seriously prejudices the sum total in the final records. From repeated personal inspection I am satisfied that in some of the marches made by Coronado in Kansas, notably while passing from his first crossing of the Arkansas northeasterly till near the present town of Great Bend and thence toward the Kansas river, the distances given are too large.

But this is not all: The matter of direction is quite as important as distance. In certain instances the statement is met in the narratives that the daily course was determined by *the needle*, an assurance by no means unwelcome. Evidently the compass was present, but not always in active service. Mention accordingly appears of a Bowman, apparently an Indian (for such usage was familiar to them), serving as a substitute. The moment the column was ready to move in the morning, the Bowman discharged an

arrow at an elevation of about thirty degrees in the direction of the proposed advance. Noting the exact point at which the missile struck the ground, the archer advanced about two-thirds of the distance and sent another arrow, as nearly as might be with the same force, in the same direction. As he passed the first arrow, he carefully withdrew it from the ground, and so continued as long as the march lasted. To be sure there is an element of personal pride as well as novelty in this scheme; but as the day passes, it becomes mechanical and therefore wearisome, and at once its value thereafter is questionable. A striking illustration of the possible errancy of this usage is afforded in the return march of Coronado's army from the country of Quivira. Relying upon this method, upon reaching the Cicuye river they found themselves thirty leagues south of the point intended, *i. e.*, the bridge by which they crossed, when setting out, April 23, 1541. Another of the devices resorted to in this connection also evinced a degree of simplicity not usual in the stately Spaniard. A detail was made whose duty for the time it became to collect stones or buffalo-chips and arrange them in piles at intervals along the route, so that, in case of need, they might be enabled thereby to retrace their way in safety.<sup>14</sup>

At this point, preparatory to the final advance towards Quivira, an explanation of certain intermediate movements seems besiting. April 23, 1541, in pursuit of the long sought, evasive Quivira, the army leaving Cicuye, eighteen miles southeast of the present Santa Fe, crossed the eastern mountain range, the Tecolote mountains, and debouched upon the plains beyond. Four days brought them to the Mora, a deep, rapid confluent of the Canadian river. Here four days were occupied in the construction of a bridge. So far the march was in the direction of Quivira; but in the subsequent thirty-seven days' marching an unexpected change took place. Instead of continuing northeast, the proper direction, a deflection toward the east, and finally almost to the southeast, develops. At intervals on this long advance halts were made. But in no instance is an explanation made for the halts or for the change of course. A plausible solution may, however, be presented. For more than a year the army had been forcing its way north through Mexico and eastward through the present Arizona and New Mexico as far as the Rio Grande. Not infrequently horses and men had suffered from lack of sufficient sustenance. The winter just passed had been unusually severe and proper provisions scanty. It was natural, therefore, that April 23 the horses would not be found in good condition for a long and trying march. Coronado was a kind, observant man, and was of course entirely conversant with the situation. Instead of discussing the matter generally, he seems to have met the exigency quietly in his own way.

When the march was resumed, after the passage of the Mora river was accomplished, it was soon remarked that the course was inclining somewhat toward the east; at successive stages the deflection became more pronounced, till finally, as already indicated, it was almost southeast. The explanation is easy and natural. For an unknown period there has existed a frequented route or trail along the northern margin of the Canadian river

NOTE 14.—The explanation given at this point as to the use made of stones and buffalo-chips is misleading. Downtrodden grass did, if not completely beaten down to the ground, a condition not usual, soon resumes its natural position and apparently obliterates the trail; yet any one, with an eye to see, at half a glance might readily discover, without dismounting, the equally manifest and more permanent trail, the tracks of the horses in the only half-hidden soil. The extremely self-conscious Spaniards were not always renowned as quick or accurate observers.

throughout its entire course. As early as the date of the Louisiana purchase the Indians claimed that this trail had long been a common thoroughfare for eastern tribes when raiding into New Mexico for horses and other booty. The only probable reason that the pathway should exist there, rather than upon some other stream, must be that it was more expeditious; it presented fewer obstacles interfering with rapid and safe travel. Prior to all this, however, was another: the Indian captive, Turk, who was acting as guide, conceiving the idea of escaping to his own people, had so far beguiled Coronado as to induce him to move in this direction as the proper course to reach Quivira. Turk was no doubt a native of some tribe near the Mississippi, for his description of the scene quoted from Castañeda, one of the chroniclers of Coronado's march, portrays an ordinary, familiar scene upon the Mississippi river at that time; while the second writer, the Knight of Elvas, a chronicler of Soto's expedition, presents an ornate naval display on the part of the Indians before the Spanish chieftain. Though the conditions were so diverse, the underlined portions indicate essential resemblances.<sup>15</sup> Between the two writers there could have been no collusion. The natural inference is, therefore, that each of the narrators was personally familiar with such scenes, and evidently for once Turk spoke the truth, and was probably, as he claimed, a native of the Mississippi valley. And so in his attempted misleading of Coronado, Turk's motive was obviously twofold—to escape to his own people, and also meantime to involve the Spaniards in some desolate region where, for lack of sustenance, all would perish, as will appear later.

As it happened, the route followed seems for the time to have satisfied both the commander and the guide: the former, in that it afforded an easy progress, with at least two notable halts at convenient points to rest and recuperate the horses; and the guide, in that each march served to bring him nearer to his kindred. At each of these two halts the command seems to have been welcomed and loyally entertained by each of the Indian tribes met, then upon their annual summer buffalo hunt, the Querechos, and farther east the Teyas, the two tribes probably representing the Tonkawas and Comanches of later days. The abundant growth of buffalo-grass in the region attracted vast herds of those animals, and naturally at the proper season these Indians congregated thither. The conditions exactly suited Coronado's desires also. He obtained thereby a supply of dried meat, and secured a favorable opportunity to recruit his worn horses, as the grass was quite as grateful to them as to the buffalo, even though it did not supply the place of corn, their proper diet. Each of the Indian tribes, it may be observed, had pitched its village in a ravine or barranca, a miniature cañon, not uncommon in that locality, worn abruptly into the prairie by heavy rain torrents, as it afforded concealment as well as shelter and quiet. These halts at the same time afforded diversion to the men of the army, many of whom were not in a kindly mood. Accompanying the Indians upon the daily

NOTE 15.—The two passages are as follows:

"He (Turk) claimed that in his native country, where the land was level, there was a river two leagues in width, in which there were fishes as large as horses, and many canoes of great size, with more than twenty oarsmen upon either side. The boats carried sails and the chiefs sat at the stern under awnings, while upon the prow was a large eagle of gold."

"The next day the cacique arrived, with 200 canoes filled with men, having weapons. They were painted with ochre, wearing great bunches of white and other plumes of many colors, having feathered shields in their hands, with which they sheltered the oarsmen upon either side; the warriors standing erect from bow to stern, holding bows and arrows. The barge in which the cacique came had an awning at the poop under which he sat."

chase, themselves mounted, while the Indians were on foot, it is safe to say that in the excitement of the slaughter they did not spare their already worn horses. Thus far a progress of thirty-seven days of actual marching, with intervening halts, had been made, a distance of 250 leagues, if we may accept as correct the daily estimates as registered. The general direction had meanwhile for much of the way obviously inclined toward the southeast. The farthest point thus far attained was, therefore, short of the western border of the present Pottawatomie reservation, upon the Canadian river.

At this point a final crisis occurred. Coronado was undoubtedly in some degree already dissatisfied with the conditions developing. His horses were not gaining in strength nor in efficiency; and long and familiar intercourse with the Indians he saw was not advantageous to his men nor to the Teyas. The lawless conduct of the soldiers had proven offensive to the tribe as well as a source of serious loss to them. The wanton pillaging of a large store of tanned skins by the ruthless, turbulent soldiery, probably the entire supply so far secured in the summer hunt for use as clothing and shelter during the approaching winter, was a fair instance of the attitude of the Spaniards of that day toward the natives.<sup>16</sup> The recollection of such imposition did not, however, readily or soon fade from the Indians' memory. Deterred, no doubt, for the time, by the obvious fact that the Spaniard had the advantage of horses, mail, and firearms, they prudently refrained from attempt at retaliation; but beyond question the hostilities, maintained for three centuries against the Spaniards of Mexico and New Mexico by the Comanches, had their earliest spring in the evil doings just mentioned of Coronado's men. The wrongs then quietly submitted to have since been thus avenged more than an hundredfold. In the presence of such development, it is no cause for wonder that the Teyas guides deserted Coronado ere he was well on his way toward Quivira; or that the guides of the main body of the army, while returning to New Mexico, were found to be thirty leagues astray from their goal, Tiguex!

But beyond all these embarrassing circumstances, Coronado was at last convinced that his chief guide, Turk, had all the while been cunningly be guiling him far from his true aim, the discovery of Quivira. Startled by

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NOTE 16.—In connection with this incident—the pillaging of the skins—there is an unsolved, perhaps insoluble mystery. At all events it is one of the noteworthy occurrences of this march that could not readily fade from the memory of the Indians. As the advance-guard of the army, after parting from the Querechos, neared the camp of the Teyas further east, the Indians gathered into an immense pile all the dressed skins so far taken that season, with eager expectation that some devout Spaniard would pronounce a blessing upon them, little suspecting what was the character of the approaching visitors. Later information derived from an aged, blind Indian served to explain the expectation of the Indians in so doing. It developed that some years previous Cabeca de Vaca and his forlorn comrades, the sole survivors of the Narvaez invasion of Florida, in their wandering through Texas, came upon this tribe, upon the very spot, so Castaneda affirms, where Coronado found them, while Jaramillo records that it was near there, but in the direction toward New Spain, *i. e.*, toward Mexico. Castaneda undoubtedly misunderstood the signs used by his informant, for it is not probable that Vaca was ever north of the Red river, while the statement of Jaramillo allows a plausible explanation. It may be, at the date of Vaca's coming, the tribe was for some reason hunting part of the season at some distance toward the southwest. Bandelier places the most northern point of Vaca's wandering at about latitude thirty-one degrees, upon the Colorado river in Texas; but that point could not be described as near. It is not, however, at all improbable that such a meeting did occur at some distance toward the southwest in Texas. Vaca, ere he met the tribe, had already, by certain cures that he had wrought upon sick Indians, conciliated the good will of certain tribes to such a degree that he was regarded as a magician, *i. e.*, as a great medicine man. The Teyas had evidently learned the fact. Upon his coming among them, therefore, he had met a cordial welcome. The Indians gathered all their tanned skins into a great pile and requested him to bless them, *i. e.*, to impart a magic charm to them. With this petition he complied. Upon the approach of Coronado's command, supposing them to be of like character with Vaca, the Indians ventured to solicit a like favor, with the result that the conscienceless cavaliers, to the dismay and grief of the confiding Indians, stole the greater part of their hard-won skins.

the awkward dilemma, the waste of precious time, he faced the crisis resolutely and effectively. Turk, made to confess at once and fully his knavery, was put into chains; thirty of the most resolute men were selected from the command, and mounted upon the best horses, with six sturdy footmen accompanying. To the appeal of the rest of the command, that they also might join in the exploration, a steadfast refusal was returned by Coronado, and instead orders were at once issued that they should occupy themselves for a few days in securing a supply of dried buffalo meat, and as soon as possible thereafter should set out upon their return to Tiguex. So persistent, however, were they in their solicitation that they even sent a delegation to overtake their commander when already well on his way, and again urged their request, with the only result that a more peremptory order was returned, that, without further delay, they proceed at once to their destination.<sup>17</sup>

Upon setting out Coronado seems to have recognized Isopete, a native of Quivira, as his chief guide and interpreter, though certain Teyas Indians were, for a few days, present in like capacity. The hapless Turk was taken along as a malefactor in chains. At this point a perplexing problem presents itself. While the other narratives are silent as to the exact route taken by Coronado, Jaramillo states specifically that the course taken from the Teyas village was due north. That such a course should have been literally followed seems scarcely possible—at least so doing would have brought the force to the southern boundary of Kansas far towards its eastern border, while the topographical data as to their movements in Kansas, the most distinctly traceable portion of the entire march, require that they should have entered the state far west of any such limitation. It is very possible, however, that it did move directly north from the Teyas village till the Cimarron river was reached, then crossing to its northern bank, which is a comparatively open terrain, offering few obstructions, he followed its course toward the northwest till near longitude twenty-three degrees; thence two easy marches directly north would bring him to the Arkansas, at a point known in the early 1800's as *The Caches*, near the mouth of Mulberry creek, a short distance east of the present Fort Dodge, then a much used crossing place. The promptitude and precision evident in this progress so far we may safely attribute to the presence of the Quiviran guide, Isopete, a very different character from the tortuous Turk. Such a course, in an entirely simple and natural way, connects directly with the later movements made

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NOTE 17.—“About this time [as the main body of the army was preparing to start for Tiguex], a tattooed Indian woman escaped from Capt. Juan de Saldibar and lay in hiding among the ravines, as she recognized the region [whether they were going] as Tiguex, where she had formerly been slave. Later [after the army started for Tiguex] in her flight eastward, she fell into the hands of some Spaniards from Florida, who had penetrated thither on an exploring tour. After returning to New Spain, I heard from some of these men [Soto's] that the woman told them that for nine days she was fleeing from just such men as they were, and she even named several of the captains [Coronado's]. From this fact we were led to believe that we were then not far distant from the region where they [Soto's army] were then exploring.”

While Coronado was upon the point of starting for Quivira, Soto was probably approaching western Arkansas, late in June or early in July. If the farthest advance of the former was, as before suggested, somewhat west of the present Pottawatomie reservation, it was not impossible for the fugitive woman to traverse the intervening distance within the limit of nine days. The probable proximity of the two forces at this point naturally prompts the query why they did not meet. The prudent reserve of the Indians roundabout was doubtless the effective obstacle. The neighboring tribes undoubtedly understood the exact conditions as to the distance and plight of each army. As each commander had failed to conciliate their confidence or good will, they were simply left to themselves in blissful ignorance. Neither general, after so meager showing of actual achievement, would have been of any great advantage to the other. A meeting or conference under existing circumstances would have proven mutually mortifying. Such an ordeal was therefore mercifully spared them.

within Kansas. Jaramillo remarks that the moment Isopete saw the Arkansas he recognized it as the southern boundary of Quivira. As the stream was reached on St. Peter and St. Paul's day, June 28, Jaramillo chose to designate it as the River of St. Peter and St. Paul. Isopete described it as being below, *i. e.*, some distance south, of the Quiviran villages, forming thus the extreme southern frontier of their domain.

Crossing at the aforesaid Caches, the command moved with the current, *i. e.*, down stream, along the northern margin of the river, northeast for three days. On the way they came upon some Indians slaughtering buffalo to secure a supply of dried meat for conveyance to their villages, distant four days' march, northeast from the neighborhood of the present town of Great Bend. At the sight of the Spaniards the women and children raised a great outcry and began to flee; but at Isopete's calling to them they recognized the language as their own, and at once dismissing all apprehension associated with the whites without hesitation. Soon after the Indians set out with their dried meat for their villages toward the northeast. The command followed by easy marches, and in due time reached the Smoky Hill river, probably at or near the present Fort Harker. On the way much satisfaction was expressed in viewing the fine soil and excellent native products abounding along the watercourses, though they arrived in the dry season. Following the Smoky Hill in the detour through the counties of Ellsworth, McPherson, and Saline, a tour of three or four days, they discovered meantime six or seven considerable villages, probably at last arriving at the present Solomon City. Following the Kansas in due time eastward the command, it is quite safe to say, advanced as far as the present Junction City, as mention is made of meeting an affluent of the Kansas river which had more water than any other tributary thus far met, a distinction that still holds true, as well as more Indian villages upon its course. Besides, that stream was long a familiar highway or route with the Indians of that region when moving north or south, probably at that time, as it actually was for two or more centuries later.

One of the villages met was Quivira, the chief village of the domain known as Quivira, including at that date, it would seem, all of central and eastern Kansas. Just where that village, the capital, was situated, I was unable to determine. From all information thus far secured, from records, published narratives, as well as from repeated personal investigation of the country traversed by Coronado after he reached the Cimarron river, I am strongly inclined to believe that he did not penetrate into Nebraska. As a native of that state, born in the days when the lineally descended Quivirans (Pawnees) yet abounded in their pristine prowess, I long cherished the hope that evidence complete and satisfactory might yet be discovered that would serve to substantiate the long asserted claim that he did really enter and for a time tarried in that region. But time nor effort in research upon the ground, tradition, nor documentary evidence, has availed, so far as I may discover, to substantiate the ever-recurring claim.

The geographical contour of the country inclines one to conclude that Coronado's headquarters were established at or near the present Junction City, while he and his men were busily engaged in exploring the region round about. From the farthest point reached toward the north he sent a request to the chieftain of Harahey—a region further towards the north—that he would consent to visit him (Coronado). Shortly after the dignitary ap-

peared with an escort of 200 braves, armed with bows and arrows and wearing "some sort of things upon their heads," evidently imposing war-bonnets made of eagles' feathers, but otherwise almost entirely devoid of clothing or armor. These Indians were undoubtedly from Nebraska. The impression made by them upon Coronado seems to have been favorable; but the lateness of the season forbade longer tarrying.

At this point our last intelligence of the ill-starred Turk is had. The exact time of the occurrence is not given, but circumstances seem to combine in indicating this point in the record. Taking advantage of the absence of Coronado and a portion of his small escort while in conference with the chief of Harahey, Turk had by some means come in contact with the Indians of the village known as Quivira, and made an earnest and persistent endeavor to induce them to unite with him in massacring the entire Spanish force. The matter was communicated to Coronado after his return. Thereupon a council was called. The evidence against Turk was apparently conclusive. It was disclosed by himself that even before the command had started from Cicuye he had made a covenant with the chiefs of that village that he would, when once upon the plains, by leading them far away into some desolate region, where, once lost and their supplies entirely consumed, they would all perish by starvation. Thus at last the mystery of the march in search of Quivira is disclosed. Turk had deliberately led them southeast, instead of northeast, away from the desired goal, in an attempt to discharge his promise to the Cicuyan magnates. In view of such disclosures, Turk was at once condemned and put to death secretly. Jaramillo disposes of him quaintly and appropriately: "We learned of it [his intriguing with the Indians] and put him under guard and strangled him that night, so that he did not wake up."

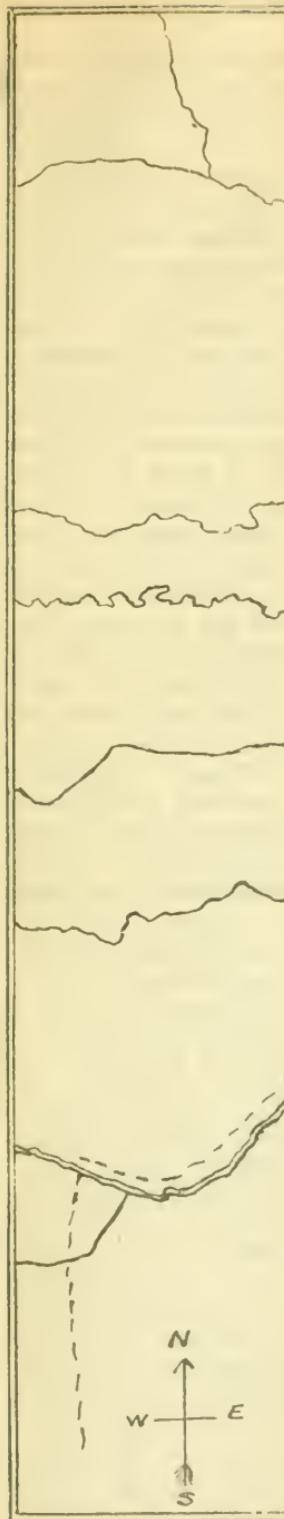
Soon after this conference was had, in a council of his men called by the commander, it was decided that, as the season for further exploration was already brief, the winter in that latitude inhospitable, and an attempt to remain there, where supplies for men and horses could be obtained only with extreme difficulty, could not safely be ventured, their only course was to return so soon as might be to Tiguex. The claim was put forth that Coronado in his extreme northward movement, to meet the chief from Harahey, reached latitude forty degrees; but it must be borne in mind that the computations of Spanish explorers at that day were almost always too large in matters of distance. The entire time passed among the Quivirans was given as twenty-five days; busy days, no doubt, and not entirely resultless to either Indians or Spaniards. It will be noticed that during his sojourn in the country the relations of Coronado's men with the Indians, wherever met north of the Arkansas, were entirely amicable. They furnished supplies to their visitors, acted as guides, and gave information readily, except when questioned as to personal or intertribal matters. Evidently the commander in this enterprise had selected safe men.

At first meeting, the impressions entertained of the Quivirans were to the effect that there was in them little to commend. But ere the final parting came this hasty view was essentially modified in their favor. They were found to be industrious, raising corn, beans and pumpkins in considerable quantity in the valleys along the streams; they constructed substantial frameworks of withes for their winter lodges and thatched them securely with prairie-grass, and overlaid this with thin turf. They tanned buffalo hides for winter

clothing. They also dressed skins with the hair remaining upon them, and thus obtained warm bedding for winter use. It may also be added that, so far as extended investigation indicates, they were the first to introduce the cultivation of corn in our northern latitudes west of the Mississippi, bringing it from their kindred tribes upon the Red river when the northern migration begun. So close was the cultivation and use of this cereal associated with their tribal history that in their religious services they personified it as a token or symbol of the presence of the Great Spirit (the Power above). This corn, pulverized in a mortar after being parched, made a very palatable hasty pudding or bread. In this use they often spoke of it as *mother*. They also gathered and dried for domestic use some of the native fruits, as cherries, plums, and grapes. Certain wild nuts were collected and preserved for like use.

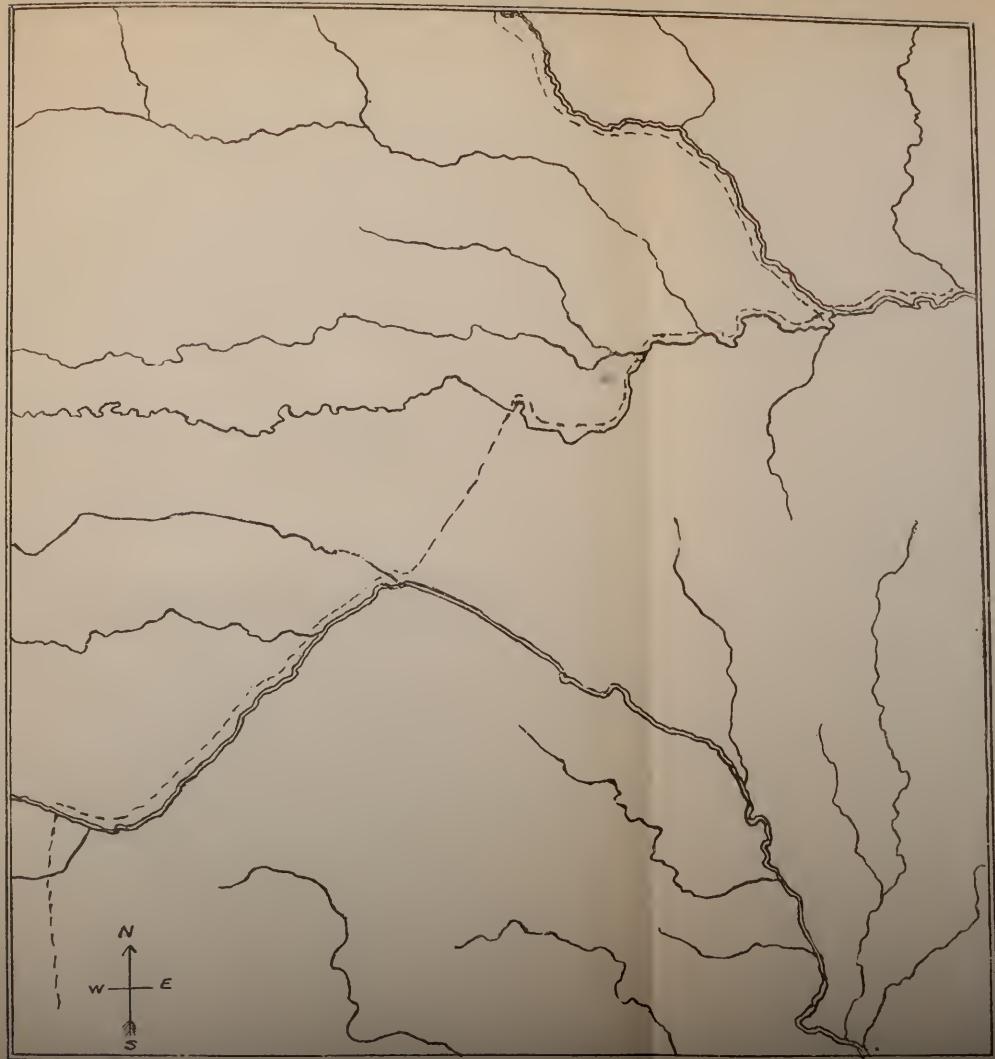
As to the nature of the soil and character of the country, so far as visited, Jaramillo remarks that he never saw a better region in all his travels in Spain, Italy, France, or any country where he had traveled in the service of the king of Spain. The surface of the country was diversified by hillocks, valleys and plains, and traversed in various directions by fine rivers and streams; in short, he writes as confident that under proper cultivation it would produce in abundance all kinds of crops. So favorable was the impression made as to the value of the country that a plan seems to have been entertained, if not actually determined, to return thither the following spring for the purpose of conquering and colonizing the entire region; but happily, ere that time arrived, Coronado's entire army was marching, empty-handed, in quite another direction. The only surviving evidence thereafter of his ever having been in Kansas was a cross erected, in the chief village probably, upon which was chiseled by the commander the statement that he had been there as general of an army—of thirty-six men! The route taken by his Quiviran guides seems to have been simply a retracing of his advance into Quivira so far as the Arkansas; thence they bore more to the west, much of the way following paths made by the buffalo in their annual migrations, till Tiguex was the last time reached. That Coronado's relations with the Quivirans was entirely amicable, so long as he was with them, is sufficiently evidenced in the conduct of his guides—they were faithful. From the Arkansas they brought him by a direct, much shorter route to the desired goal.

The results of this costly enterprise, so far as concerned Spain, other than the geographical knowledge gained of the country seen and traversed, were in the end destined to become to all concerned in it a source of extreme mortification. In fitting out and maintaining the expedition Mexico had impoverished itself. The indebtedness incurred long hung like an incubus over the country. Instead of securing to the throne of Spain enlarged dominion and wealth of provinces, as time passed the new country for more than half a century remained unvisited and unoccupied, only to fall finally under the control of an unfriendly power, no lineal heir of Castile succeeding to its possession. Castañeda, for some unknown reason, seems to have been apprehensive that neither the feeble band that explored and discovered so much in the province that rendered it desirable to Spain, nor their descendants, should ever derive any advantage therefrom. Accordingly the proposed scheme of returning thither the ensuing year to conquer and colonize the country was never undertaken. When the white man's foot was again



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## CORONADO'S ROUTE IN KANSAS

See page 30.



seen it came from the more benign sunrising. Another manner of man appeared, whom the denizens of the prairies soon learned to recognize as the master alike of the country and its inhabitants, the facile and versatile Frenchman.

One further incident merits notice at this point, a failure that seriously mars the record of the discoveries actually made. It is noticeable that, while Coronado was for twenty-five days busily engaged in his explorations in the region roundabout, there is no mention that any of these efforts were directed toward the east, at least further than the Big Blue, a few miles east from his probable headquarters, at or near Junction City. The natural explanation of this fact may be that the Indians, when questioned as to the conditions in that direction, diplomatically refrained from giving any specific information, and so, when already within less than a hundred miles of the most wonderful watercourse east of the Rocky Mountains, Coronado and his command were fated to return to Mexico blissfully ignorant of the existence and near presence of the Missouri river. The discovery and early exploration of the stream was thus fortunately reserved for their more complaisant and enterprising rivals, the French voyageurs and *courieur des bois*, who in due time thereafter were eagerly pressing westward from Canada along the great lakes and the eastern affluents of the Mississippi. So disheartening was the issue of Coronado's expedition that for fifty years or more the dream of the golden Quivira remained quiescent, as least so far as concerned any overt effort; yet, like the familiar stage ghost, it persistently would not down at the mere bidding. It still infected the minds of the Spaniards of Mexico. Near the close of the century, apparently during the years 1594-'96, the governor of Nueva Vizcaya commissioned Capt. Francisco Leiva Bonilla to chastise some turbulent Indians that were harrassing the province. While upon this service he conceived the scheme of extending his operations to the distant Quivira, and without authority set out thither. At some point, going or returning, he was in a quarrel killed by a subordinate, Juan de Humaña, who at once assumed the command. The expedition probably reached central Kansas, and possibly passed beyond toward the northwest to some gold-mines—the Black Hills, perhaps. While upon their return, at some point in southern Kansas, apparently the entire command was massacred, while asleep by night in camp, save two, a boy and a girl, who escaped by the aid of some roving Indians. The story of Governor Oñate's expedition will appear later.

The reader will have observed ere this that in his movements in Kansas, and even earlier, Coronado evinced an habitual penchant, not necessarily an unwise trait, to conform his movements to the course of streams met upon the way. After crossing the Arkansas he moved along its northern margin, till information given by the Indians indicated that he must abandon it. Retaining his general direction, however, an easy march of three or four days would bring his escort to the Smoky Hill, near the present Fort Harker. This stream he undoubtedly followed in its southern detour, as already described, thereby meeting more frequent Indian villages; thence a few miles east he came upon the Kansas river, which brought him without doubt to the Republican, and quite likely to the Big Blue. A moment's glance at the map of the state would perhaps suggest to the Kansans of the present day that they, unconsciously, it may be, have to some degree entered into and

perpetuated Coronado's liking for streams. During his brief exploitation of the region he was rarely if ever distant from the Republican, the Kansas, the Big Blue, or the Smoky Hill. Streams, moreover, as Jaramillo, who wrote an account of the movements of the command, wisely observed, furnish the best soil and the most varied products, and thereunto they that are wise do ever congregate; flourishing towns and cities bedeck them at easy intervals, and even the sordid (?) railways seem never so blithe as when in their close company. Yet the bards of the state leave these fair streams still unsung!

Before dismissing finally the multi-local theme, Quivira, it may be of some interest to review briefly the treatment accorded to it by the early geographers. The number of those that essayed to give it an actual habitat, as well as a name, is at least noteworthy, some of them having long since been accorded honorable recognition. First in order of time, so far as some research has afforded evidence, stands the name of Zaltieri, an Italian, whose map, dated 1566, is mentioned as probably the earliest that presents America as a continent distinct from Asia. Bering Strait he designates as *Streto de Anian*. Upon this map the realm of Quivira is given place in the central part of Alaska, occupying apparently a considerable territory between the Yukon and the Alaskan mountains, upon the southern coast. Once thus located it seems to have been regarded as convenient there or near-by at will. Furlani, in a map sketched but not engraved, 1574, accords it the same position. Mercator's map of 1569 had, however, meantime already transferred Quivira to the extreme southwest coast of Alaska. Once given place there by such an authority as Mercator, Ortelin's maps of 1570 and 1589, De Bry's of 1596, Wytfliet's of 1597, Quadus's map of 1608, and Hondius's of 1609, allow its position to remain essentially undisturbed, save a slight tendency toward the east. Meantime Molineux, upon his globe of 1592, had assigned Quivira a position east of Cape Mendocino, apparently east of the Coast Range mountains. A like disposition was made of it by Battista Agueuse upon an undated map.

In 1661 there appeared at Florence, Italy, under the title *Arcano del Mare*, a collection of maps, several of them (thirty-three) relating to America. The author, Robert Dudley, who died twenty-two years before, merits special mention. Of noble birth and ample fortune, he was in turn a valiant seamen, a hydrographer, an engineer, and finally a geographer, and of honorable repute in all. One of these maps presents the best early view of our western coast from latitude thirty-eight to forty-nine degrees. The unexplored interior, from latitude forty-five to forty-eight degrees, is designated as the kingdom of Quivira. Now that the far-famed realm has become migratory, as an errant knight among the dominions of the earth, its strides in this instance, from latitude sixty to forty-seven degrees, at a single step, are surprising, and admit of no easy elucidation. A map published in 1710 by John Senex, an Englishman, places Quivira still further east, longitude  $107^{\circ}$ , latitude  $39^{\circ} 30'$ . In a later map,<sup>18</sup> Paris 1722, by Guillaume de Lisle, the elusive realm from longitude  $266^{\circ}$ , latitude  $39^{\circ}$ , greets us as having place upon the head waters of the Platte river. Thence, like a superannuated actor, it ventures its final appearance, or rather is forced

NOTE 18.—On Hondius' World map of 1611, the longitude is numbered on the equator, running from 1 to 360 degrees; beginning at a point in the Atlantic about five degrees east of the extreme eastern point in Brazil.

to masquerade for a brief season, far to the east, as an evanescent and ill-omened creation of the ignoble Turk, who thereby most appropriately became the earliest known criminal judicially condemned and duly executed within the limits of fair Kansas.

#### OUR EARLIEST KNOWLEDGE OF KANSAS.

Such, in brief, was Coronado's march. But when we pause to inquire what were the advantages accruing from the costly adventure, we are, to our surprise, restricted to a confession of almost absolute ignorance. We know only that there was found a region, distant 200 leagues toward the northeast from New Mexico, described as a veritable land of promise, fair to look upon, and worthy of future investigation. By a strange irony of fate, however, to New Mexico and to Mexico itself it proved ere long a source of detriment and ultimately of bitter mortification. The knowledge acquired as to the topography or existing industrial opportunity in the country, so far as seen, was practically nothing. In short, the entire undertaking was simply all cry and no wool. The activity and resources of Spain thus prodigally lavished in this and other explorations within our present domain left absolutely no sign of good, but abundant indications of evil. Every early explorer—de Leon, Narvaez, Soto, and Coronado—set bravely forth with their hosts, and of them all Coronado alone returned, ever thereafter a disappointed and humiliated man. The Spaniard in each instance, save that of Coronado, seemed to be devoid of the amiable facility to conciliate the confidence or regard of the native tribes met by the way, with the logical result that their armies perished and themselves with them.

But a counterpart to these ill-starred enterprises is not far to seek. In due season, from another quarter, a different type of man ere long became known to the Indians. From the remote East, by way of the Great Lakes, appeared the complaisant Frenchman, not as a man of authority, but as a fellow being, willing to associate freely with the natives, even to become one with them in interest and in effort. His influence, to be sure, was too frequently not what it should have been. However a better class, though few in number, were willing to live with them, to toil with them, and if need be to suffer and cheerfully aid them in better ways of living. It is to two of these self-devoted pioneers of better things, a missionary and a layman, that I desire briefly to invite attention, as a sequel or supplement to the preceding narrative of Coronado's tour. It seems that late in 1672 Count Frontenac, then governor of New France, at the suggestion of his subordinate, the Intendant Monsieur Talon, authorized Louis Joliet, in company with Pere Jacques Marquette, *nomen venerabile et paeclarum*, to proceed west by way of the great lakes and undertake an exploration of the course of the Mississippi river to its mouth. Promptly the two, aided by five Frenchmen as rowers, reported at Mackinaw December 8 ensuing. While wintering here, with the aid of such information as he was able to acquire from the Indians in the vicinity, Father Marquette endeavored to sketch the course of the great river, in a rude way, indicating the points at which affluents or villages of Indians would be met upon either side. May 17, 1673, setting out from Mackinaw, they ascended Green Bay and the Fox river, by a short portage entered the Wisconsin river, and June 17 passed out into the great river itself. Thence they soon reached the mouth of the Arkansas. Here they were informed by the Arkansas Indians that some of the tribes below

were hostile, and that further advance was dangerous. Unable therefore to continue their way, they tarried here a few days, Marquette meantime busily occupied in questioning the Indians as to the topography of the country roundabout. By the aid of information thus gained he was able within the few days to trace in outline upon his map the course of the Wisconsin and Mississippi, so far as he had actually viewed it, as well as to note the points at which the Wisconsin, the Missouri, the Ohio and the Arkansas discharged into it.

So far the work done was Marquette's only, and as such was an original and valuable contribution to geographical knowledge. But when he proceeded to interrogate the Indians (the Arkansas) as to the location of other tribes and their villages, by means of the sign language, he became the willing pupil, and the Indians were, in the completest sense, his instructors—an ecclesiastic thoroughly trained in the current lore, secular and sacred, of his time, thus sitting a willing pupil at the feet of savages! But this instruction thus acquired, even from savages, he was able to leave so recorded that it has proven one of the most remarkable productions of the time. Though entirely ignorant of their language, he has yet left us a chart that indicates the sites of twenty or more villages of sundry tribes, not more than two or three of which he ever saw, upon the Mississippi, the Missouri, the Arkansas, Kansas and Platte rivers, some of them at a distance of 300 miles. And yet the locations assigned to these villages by his Indian tutors were in each instance creditably accurate. In explanation of this statement a brief divergence from our proper subject may perhaps be allowable.

In addition to the five senses common to the white man, the pristine Indian seems to have possessed a sixth, which in his mode of life was in some respects the most ready and vigorous of all—the topographical sense. The distance of a day's travel, even though the route had repeatedly changed direction and lay through a rugged, difficult region, he could readily estimate as the bee flies, with comparative accuracy. In like manner at any time he could sketch the general surface features of a region once familiar. Take a wild Indian, not yet spoiled by the white man, into a school building, for example, up two flights of stairs, allow him to enter a classroom for a minute, then pass him from the building by another door, and at request he will name the number of steps in each flight of stairs, the number of desks in the room entered, the approximate dimensions of the room, and sketch with fair accuracy the front of the building at which he entered. The cast of an intelligent Indian's mind in this respect seems, to a certain degree, to be fundamental. It appears to be in a limited sense only, an acquired trait. In its action it seems rather to partake of the nature of an original sense, and becomes thus comparatively early one of the most facile and responsive of his mental endowments. Marquette's map is therefore, in all its essential features, a product of this special Indian sense. Constructed by a white man from his unaided recollection of what he had seen years since, it would probably have proven of small value. Certain ones of the Indians with whom Marquette tarried, for the few days of his visit on the Arkansas, who had at some previous period visited, or perhaps merely passed through, the localities here traced, indicated to him with singular accuracy the course of each considerable stream, as well as the site of each village appearing upon the map.

In this instance, by no means the only one, the usual conditions were re-

versed. The untutored Indian became the instructor, while the thoroughly cultured ecclesiastic simply registered his statements. O that an artist might have been present to sketch that unique scene! The map as completed is to all intents a genuine Indian production, and as such may safely rank as the equal in accuracy of some of the more ornate productions illustrative of the region of Quivira, as cited upon a preceding page. Compared with the too frequent hazy statements in the narratives of the Coronado tour, this naked presentation, with no explanatory text, pours a flood of welcome light upon the general *locale* of the country that constitutes the central western portion of the Mississippi valley at that date, especially the present states of Missouri, Nebraska, Kansas, and Arkansas.

It is noticeable that, though the Arkansas Indians dwelt upon the river of the same name, and were thoroughly conversant with its general direction, the location of the villages of their tribe upon it, as well as the general character of the country upon either side, Indian-like they made no disclosures relative to either of these topics; while concerning districts more remote they were ever ready to speak precisely and fully. The explanation of this attitude was that they were not yet fully satisfied as to the precise purpose of the two strangers in coming thither, and so for the time they simply refrained from imparting further information.

This map, crude though it may be, serves to present with surpassing accuracy the domain now constituting the states of Arkansas, Missouri, Kansas and Nebraska, together with the designation and location of the several tribes then (1673) known to be occupying territory within the northern and southern limits as marked by Marquette.<sup>19</sup> The unoccupied country in the central region may naturally have been a common and convenient hunting-ground for the various conterminus tribes. It has already been seen, in the discussion of Coronado's march, that the Querechos and Teyas annually resorted to the southern portion of it as a chosen and coveted hunting-ground. When visited by Coronado, 1541, the Pawnees were undoubtedly controlling the country drained by the Kansas river and its numerous affluents, certainly as far east as Topeka, and possibly quite to the Missouri. At the time of Governor Oñate's visitation, sixty years later, the advance-guard of

NOTE 19.—It may perhaps be in place to speak briefly of the notable family of which this heroic but unassuming pioneer missionary was a worthy member. As early as the middle of the fourteenth century various of its members were recognized as having won honorable renown by their chivalrous services in behalf of their native city Laon, as well as in recognition of frequent knightly services rendered to the sovereigns of France. Four hundred years later three members of the family, serving in the French contingent of our armies, gave their lives that our country might become independent. The name of our present subject is equally renowned for untiring, useful services in a nobler field. Upon completing his studies in the order of the Jesuits he soon decided to engage in missionary service among the Indians of Canada. September 20, 1666, he landed at Quebec. After a sojourn there he began his labors among the Montagnais Indians; thence in one season he was in charge of the Ottawa mission, near Sault St. Mary's; and thence to the mission of Lapointe, near Green Bay, Wis., 1669. After his return from the voyage down the Mississippi, for a time he labored with the Kaskaskias and other tribes in Illinois. Here, as a result of his arduous toils and endeavors, feeling that his frail constitution was giving way, he attempted to reach the Kaskaskias. Arriving there he attempted to resume missionary labors with them. But rapidly declining health prompted him to set out for Mackinaw. While making his way northward along the eastern shore of Lake Michigan, with two companions, his strength sank entirely, Saturday, May 18, 1674. His frail body was piously interred by his two accompanying friends. In nine brief years, while his hoped for life's work was barely yet begun, he ceased thus from his devout labors — called higher. Two years later a party of Indians to whom he had ministered, upon the return from their annual hunt, visited the spot of his interment, upon a slight hill near a stream, exhumed his remains, and bore them in solemn procession to the mission church at Mackinaw. There they were piously interred, with imposing ceremony, in the center of the building.

A full account may be found of Marquette's Discovery and Exploration of the Mississippi Valley, by Dr. John G. Shea, New York, 1852. Beside the life and voyages of Marquette, there are other articles of eminent value by various hands; but above all there is a full presentation of Marquette's map.

the tribe seem to have progressed northward so far as the Platte river, though they had not actually taken final possession of any considerable area, as the greater portion of them seem to have fondly lingered in Kansas, apparently reluctant to part entirely from the pleasant conditions there once enjoyed. Between the coming of Governor Oñate (1601) and the massacre of Villazar with his command (1720) upon the Platte river, a few miles east of the junction of the north and south forks of that stream, the Pawnees had taken full possession of all the desirable land within the valley of the Platte and its affluents, including therein all the desirable portion of the state, except a small district adjacent to the Missouri, which the small tribes of the Otoes (Otontanta), Omahas (Mahas) and Poncas, who had conceded, or at least unsuccessfully disputed, the suzerainty of the Pawnees over the domain. The point in the distant South whence the Pawnees first began their remote northern migration is indicated by the Paniassa village, near the northern margin of Red river.

It will be noticed that the latitudes, as here indicated, are remarkably accurate, though I find no indication that Marquette had any instruments to aid him in the construction of the map. In this interesting and valuable sketch, therefore, meager as it is, we find our earliest definite information as to the relative situation of the four present states, Missouri, Arkansas, Kansas and Nebraska. The knowledge of the results of this tour by the heroic father, as evidenced in his sketch and journal, when once known, soon thereafter enkindled upon the part of early voyageurs and traders, even then busily engaged in exploiting regions toward the remote West by way of the Great Lakes, a generous and patriotic zeal that erstwhile was to secure a vast and most valuable region, the entire expanse of the great prairies north of the Red river as far west as the Rocky Mountains, to the already occupied realm of Canada, whence in due time it was transferred to the control of the United States, the first effective check given to the ruthless aggrandizements of Spain upon this continent.

As Marquette was descending the Upper Mississippi, from information already derived from the Indians he had been prepared to behold in the Missouri a mighty stream; but his first glance satisfied him that the half had not been told. As he viewed the flood, turbid and laden with uprooted trees and other debris torn from its banks far above, sweeping with irresistible momentum into the Mississippi, bearing along amid the manifold evidences of its destructive power his frail bark, his facile imagination was at once enkindled. As his Indian rowers informed him of the vast prairies that it traversed, after issuing from the lofty, far distant mountains toward the setting sun, the fond hope was at once conceived that by way of this great stream he might safely pass the intervening plains, and from its head waters amid the mountains penetrate unhindered to the sources of the Colorado, and thence descending it reach California—a fond dream, that still remains unrealized.

The character (8) appearing in the names Pekitan8i, 8missourit, 8chage, Pe8area, and others, is to be sounded as *oo* in *too*. The advance-guard of the Pawnees had at this date penetrated so far as the Platte, but had scarcely yet contemplated permanent occupancy. The Kansa were slowly approaching the Kansas river from the south. The 8missourit (the Missouris) and the 8chage (Osages) should have been located upon the southern margin of

the Missouri (Pekitan8i) at the two points indicated by the names in script. The dotted marks are an attempt to show more exactly the course of the Missouri, the Kansas and the Platte.

## JUAN DE PADILLA.

The Pioneer Missionary of Kansas.

There is a somber, perhaps not unbefitting, phase associated with Coronado's tour to Quivira that should merit independent notice in this connection. When the march thither began an important member of the force, Fray Juan de Padilla, was duly entitled to special mention. He was evidently a man of marked character and peculiar power. In early life he had served as a soldier. This manner of life he had forsaken for a more noble service. In the few brief notices that survive of him there is frequent evidence that in his final calling there was an initiative promptitude and persistency that impressed others. Upon arriving at Quivira he must have early been impressed and attracted by traits in the character and life of the Quivirans (Pawnees) not yet observed in other Indians. During his brief association with them at that time, the many soon enlisted his sympathy by their kindly attentions and services; while the medicine-men seem to have been equally prompt in avowing their disapproval of him and his proffered instructions. Naturally, he seems to have chosen to associate rather with those of the tribe whose lot was most difficult. Accordingly, during the brief stay with them, he preferred to move about on foot rather than mounted.

When Coronado set out from Quivira for Tiguex, Padilla accompanied him; but with the resolve, contrary to the urgent pleas of all others, that the next spring he would again be with the tribe. Evidently during his brief stay they had won his kindly interest. Though he had met other tribes, to this one he willingly yielded the precedence. So soon as the warm season returned, therefore, with his little company, taking as a gift to their distant charge a small flock of sheep, some mules, a horse and minor articles as presents to be distributed among them, he eagerly retraced the weary distance of nearly 700 miles.

The devoted leader, a Portuguese assistant, Andres do Campo, two Indian laymen, Sebastian and Luke, and a negro not named, constituted the working force of the prospective mission. Reaching the villages in 'due season, with his usual energy Padilla at once resumed the suspended work. What was the present attitude of the tribe soon became manifest. So encouraging was the outlook, soon after the reopening of the missionary efforts among them, that he ventured to devote some attention to other villages. This step, misinterpreted by some of his immediate charge, so one account runs, wrought his undoing. As he was returning from one of these ministrations elsewhere he found a portion of his own village in hostile array against him. Their determined attitude satisfied him that the end was come. At once he urged Campo to escape instantly upon his horse; the two lay brethren, as they were young and active, he besought to flee on foot. Campo immediately disappeared; the laymen, reaching a hill at some distance, secreted themselves in the grass and awaited the end. The hostile Indians in a body approached the father as he knelt in prayer, and a flight of arrows closed his labors. The two laymen quietly awaited the coming of the night, then returned, dug a grave, piously covered the mangled body,

and silently withdrew. Of the three, report was had in due time to the effect that after a weary flight of nearly 1000 miles they finally escaped in safety to Panuco, in Mexico.

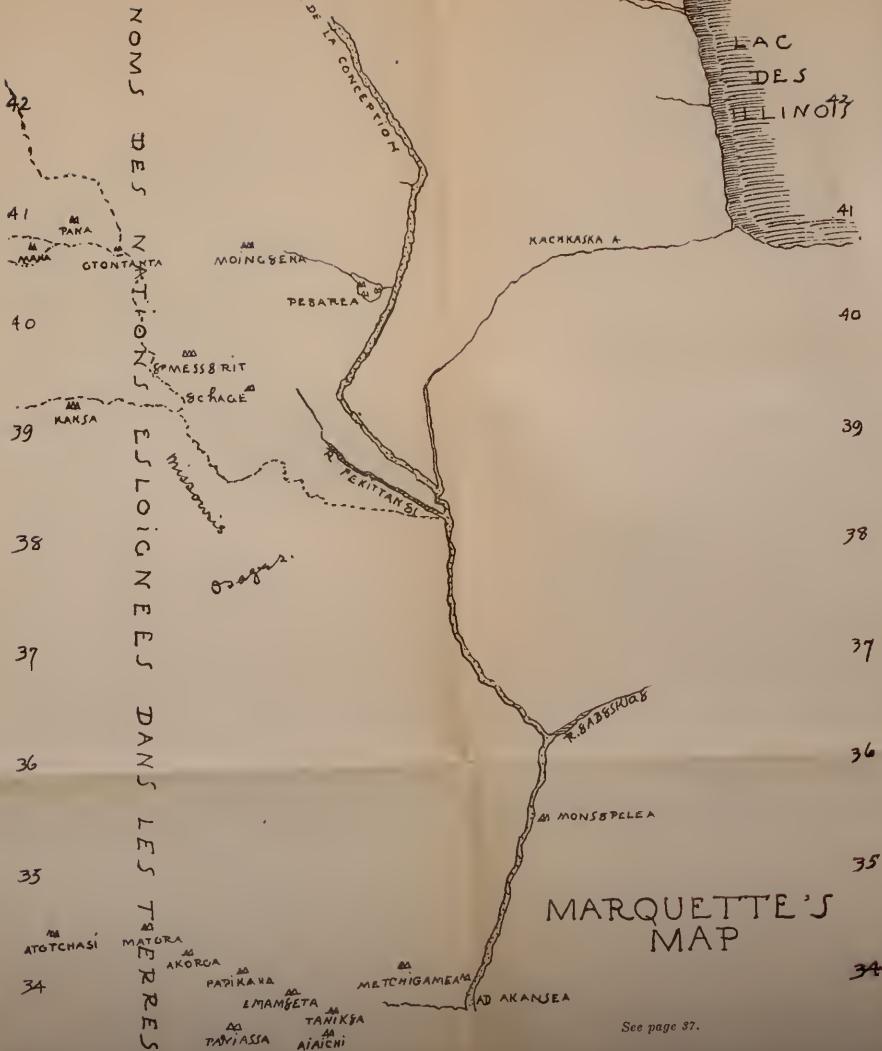
Such is the current narrative of Fray Juan de Padilla's attempted missionary work and death among the Pawnees in central Kansas. Fortunately there is extant a brief account of the matter from an independent source.<sup>20</sup> As already indicated, Padilla was a man of unusual ability, of quick discernment, and instant in the presence of exigencies. When withdrawing from Quivira the previous autumn with Coronado, he carefully prepared and erected a cross in one of the villages, explained its significance to the Indians, and charged them that they must not in any way disturb it; that such an attempt would cost them dear. Though his commander and others in the force urged him to abandon all thought of ever returning, he alone was insistent. The ensuing spring he accordingly set out; and to his pleasant surprise found the cross still standing in its proper place and condition. Accompanying him were Andres do Campo and the others before named. With him were also returning to their native country the Quiviran guides, who, the previous autumn, had conducted Coronado by a direct route to New Mexico. To the great joy of the missionary everything was found in becoming plight. The reception by the Indians was encouraging; and naturally he began to contemplate an enlargement of his field of labor, with a view to reaching more distant villages. Contrary to the wishes of his immediate charge, who were evidently becoming attached to him, he set out with his usual escort. At a day's distance a band of hostile Indians met him. Realizing at once their unfriendly purpose, he urged Campo to mount his horse and take to flight, as in so doing he might be able to assist the two laymen and the negro to arrive at a place of safety. Falling then himself upon his knees in a last supplication, he was pierced by a flight of arrows. The savages immediately cast his body, scarcely yet dead, into a pit near by, and buried it beneath a heap of stones. The writer before named makes mention of the fact that some time after the death of the martyr the cross raised by him in the Pawnee village was still standing, a mute but eloquent witness of the esteem in which he was held by his adopted people.

The foregoing account has been ventured at this point with a view to offering a new interpretation as to the death of Fray Padilla. There is, to any one familiar with the Indian character ere he was debauched by the white man, an obvious inconsistency here. Indians in all essential matters were prone to be consistent. Simplicity in thought and in conduct was the rule. If they approved the original erection of the cross in the village, unless rare provocation intervened, they would hesitate to destroy it. The only explanation of its remaining undisturbed, therefore, is that a favorable impression as to the missionary's labors among them had been wrought in their minds. The character of the man as revealed in his walk and conversation impressed them favorably. The cross, ever before them, was an elo-

NOTE 20.—Mota Padilla, *Historia de la Conquista de la Nueva Galicia*, Mexico, 1870. The author of this work is entitled, by the general character of his writings, to special mention. So far as appeal has been made to this volume, in comparison with other authorities upon the same subject, it has proven quite as safe as the best. He was evidently willing ever to make candid appeal to existing records, if accessible, ere he put forth his own opinions or conclusions. For this reason especially his account of the experiences of Fray Padilla among the Quivirans has been accorded precedence as most worthy of consideration or credence. Still, at times, he was not above yielding to the prevalent sentiment of the day; hence we find him gravely recording that the death of Padilla was made memorable by remarkable phenomena immediately thereafter—great floods, displays of blazing meteors, and comets that even obscured the sun!









quent epitome of all his teaching and therefore an object of reverence—in their language it was *good medicine*; therefore the cross stood.<sup>21</sup>

The other thought is that, in all probability, Padilla was not killed by the Pawnees. Had the hostile band been such the fact would certainly have become known. When he set out upon the fatal journey the Indians endeavored to divert him from going. They were in all probability aware that he was incurring danger, as the event showed. At the distance of a day's journey a war party met them with hostile demonstrations, evidently belonging to an unfriendly tribe. Their motive in burying his body, as they did, already lacerated, in a pit under a mass of stones, was a gratuitous indignity, that it might be marred and mangled beyond recognition. Every statement in the entire account is consistent with this view. The father had uniformly befriended the Pawnees; in all his intercourse he had evidently sought their welfare, and this fact was becoming known to other Indians. The murderers recognized in him a well-wisher to their enemies, the Pawnees, and therefore they sought his life.

Though now identified with the Quivirans of old, the Pawnee tribe acquire no honor from the relationship. As known two centuries since they were far in advance of all that has been recorded of the former, save their hospitality, by Coronado's scribes, Castañeda and Jarámillio, or even by Coronado himself. Born within their domain, the most frequent and enduring reminiscences of the past are intimately associated with them. Once my life was saved by a Pawnee, who saw no reason why I should therefore be indebted to him; and I still bear the mark of another who meant last things when he gave the blow. The best and the worst in them are both familiar; but if fairly treated, the best abounded the more.

As already noted, Juan de Padilla had in earlier days chosen the career of a soldier. How long he continued in this service we have no means of knowing. Evidently the elements of military training and experience had left a deep and vivid impress upon him. Enough is recorded of him in the accounts relating to Coronado's march to indicate that he was early recognized as a person of mark in the army. In enterprises that demanded the elements of promptitude and precision and power he seems to have voluntarily borne his full share. Even after he became an ordained ecclesiastic, in exigencies requiring instant decision and prompt action, the soldierly instincts of an earlier day, reverting for the moment, seem to have suspended all thought of his higher functions as an ordained priest. Even before the march from Compostela began he had been designated as chief of the clergy that accompanied the army. His thoughts seem to have rarely been con-

NOTE 21.—Prof. J. V. Brower, of St. Paul, Minn., president of the Quivira Historical Society, erected in Kansas four monuments commemorative of the Coronado expedition. These are:

The monument erected at Logan Grove near Junction City, on the farm of Robert Douglas Henderson, in honor of the Spanish explorer, Coronado, and dedicated August 12, 1902, cost, about \$600.

Monument in honor of Friar Juan de Padilla, the first Christian martyr to die on the soil of the United States, was erected in the city park, Herington, Dickinson county, and dedicated October 26, 1904; probable cost, \$500.

Monument to Ta-tar-rax, chief of the Harahey Indians, who visited Coronado in the Kansas valley, was erected in the city park at Manhattan, Riley county, and dedicated October 27, 1904; probable cost, \$400.

The monument at Alma, Wabaunsee county, in honor of the Harahey tribe of Indians, was dedicated October 28, 1904; probable cost, \$300.

A monument constructed of native uncult limestone was found by the early settlers of Morris county on the brow of a high point of land between the junctions of the valleys of Elm creek and the Neosho river, about a mile south of Council Grove. It has long been known locally as the Padilla monument. It has never been wholly overthrown, but stands ten or twelve feet high, and can be seen from all directions for miles.

cerned about himself. Whenever special detachments were sent upon exploring tours in rugged regions, where passage could be scarcely found, he was ever at hand cheerfully enduring hardships among the foremost. In fact, it seems that commanders sent upon such undertakings must have requested that he accompany them. While so serving, no obstacle seemed to impress him, at times choosing to advance barefoot. Whenever his priestly services were needful, in case of sickness or injury, he was cheerfully at hand to assuage suffering, to assist in dressing wounds, or in administering religious consolation. It is not unnatural that the death of such a man, especially if his demise be sudden or violent, in the minds of the ignorant should be associated with supernatural phenomena.

“Fierce, fiery warriors fought upon the clouds,  
The noise of battle hurtled in the air,  
And ghosts did shriek and squeal about the streets.”

#### GOVERNOR ONATE'S EXPLORATIONS IN KANSAS.<sup>22</sup>

Nearly two generations subsequent to the final, hurried withdrawal of Coronado from New Mexico, a scant period to assuage the sorrows and retrieve the losses that had been wrought among the Indian natives there, a new and very different invasion made itself felt. At its head came Don Juan de Oñate, a wealthy resident of Zacatecas, of worthy memory. After tedious negotiations with the viceroys Don Luis de Velasco and Don Gaspar de Zuñiga y Acebedo, Conde de Monterey, September, 1595, to January, 1598, he finally was commissioned to conduct to New Mexico a larger, more varied and useful command. In this body were comprised an armed force of 400 men, 130

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NOTE 22.—*Documentos para la Historia de Mexico. Tomo Primero. Folio A. M. Mexico, 1856.* This volume is the first of the third series of documents (most of them hitherto unpublished) relating to the early history of Mexico. The material comprised in these volumes appeared in the form of feuillets in the *Diario Oficial*, in the city of Mexico. Subsequently a few sets of these feuillets were assembled and bound. The volume (all published of the third series) is the rarest, and became at once unobtainable. There are nine different subjects discussed in this volume. In only one of them, however, are we here concerned, under the following title: *Relaciones de todas las cosas que en el Nuevo-Mexico se han visto y sabido, desde el año de 1588 hasta el de 1626, por el Padre Gerónimo de Zarate Salmeron.* p. 208.

This author entered the missionary field in New Mexico early in the seventeenth century, and for a period of eight years seems to have been an active and earnest laborer among the Pueblo Indians, especially at Jemez, where he claimed that during that period he had baptised more than 6000 converts, an unusually creditable record, if correctly stated. There was, however, a degree of restlessness in his character, as he was ever urgent to engage in new fields of labor, not always a desirable feature in such work. The volume under consideration must have been to him a laborious compilation; but unfortunately there are evidences of hasty work in its pages, in the form of repetitions, indefinite statements, and, as distance lends enchantment, there is an obvious proneness to deal quite as freely with the past and future as with the more sober, unyielding present.

So far as I have been able to learn, no contemporaneous record of Governor Onate's exploring tour is now in existence; hence we are left to rely largely upon the volume just mentioned, which is unfortunately a compilation from various sources. Salmeron evidently had not the patience nor acumen to produce from such various material a coherent or logical narration of the recent or present developments transpiring in New Mexico. Hence it is, no doubt, that current events of importance are at times not mentioned, while the talk or rumors are boldly exaggerated; as when he insists upon the existence of rich gold-mines as already under operation within the limits of Quivira, or magnifies to 1000 or more the loss inflicted upon the Escansaqueas and Ajados by Onate's force of eighty men. The topographical data as to the route and progress made by Onate are also so meager that we are sadly at a loss to determine the direction taken or the distance actually traversed. Certain of these careless incongruities are accordingly allowed to remain, without attempt at explanation, as there are no data present to serve as guides. In other cases, more numerous, the text has readily permitted an interpretation that admits of satisfactory adjustment within the limitations of actual time and place. The destruction of the command of Humana, the previous autumn, was in all probability an actual catastrophe as stated. The timidity of the Quivirans whenever the Escansaqueas or Ajados approached was probably real. They had not yet become established in the domain then occupied and had not arms that enabled them to meet these enemies upon equal terms. The story of Onate's seizure of the Quiviran envoy and his almost immediate rescue by his fellow tribesmen bears all the evidence of being an actual occurrence. In brief, it is an excellent instance of native astuteness and dexterity upon the part of the pristine Indian. Such diversions were, of course, not frequent; but when undertaken, they were usually admirable instances of aboriginal humor and cleverness. When pitted thus against the stately and formal Spanish cavaliers, being naturally the more adroit and facile, the Indian usually had his way at will.

of whom, upon reaching the province with their families, were to engage in farming, Oñate himself undertaking to supply the necessary agricultural implements and provisions till they were in a condition to support themselves. The king of Spain apparently provided the needful arms and ammunition, at least a large portion of them. To convey the requisite subsistence, while upon the way and until the farmers could become self-supporting, a train of eighty heavily loaded wagons was provided. The column, when at last upon the march, was to be closed by a herd of 700 cattle, partly for consumption on the way, while the portion surviving upon reaching their destination was to be distributed among the expectant settlers. To defray the expenses thus incurred ere starting, Oñate had already disbursed 500,000 ducats.

The progress, when at last begun, January 26, 1598, was from San Bartolomé, upon the Conchos river, in Nueva Vizcaya, due north till the Del Norte was reached, April 20. Soon after crossing to the eastern side of this stream the advance was continued in a leisurely way till the long-cherished domain of New Mexico was at last entered. Oñate at once set himself energetically to the task of visiting and conferring with the Indian occupants of all the pueblos that he could then approach. The general demeanor of the Indians, so far as met, seemed to evince an amicable disposition. They voluntarily approached the immigrants with offerings of corn and other supplies, for the relief of present needs. Let this instance be noted: Indians, as human, are prone to nurse grudges to keep them warm, as Tam O'Shanter's wife did her anger. If these grudges are not glutted during life, the charge descends to the son. But in this instance, at their earliest appearing, and even till the colonists were distributed upon their farms, many of the natives cheerfully aided them in building their houses and opening their farms, even supplying clothing when needed. Yet the earlier kinsmen of these very helpers had, during the ruthless occupancy by Coronado's command, doubtless suffered bitter want and loss in property and in life. A fit instance, therefore, this, of rare forbearance and native kindliness, not unworthy of mention, now that requital in kind is too late.

But not all were such. In at least one startling instance the fact became manifest. After holding a conference with the chiefs of thirty pueblos, July 7, in which all expressions made seemed to indicate entire friendliness on the part of the Indians, the expectant farmers began to separate in different directions to their new homes, and the soldiers in detachments were moving in various directions. September 19, a much larger gathering of Indians was assembled with like result. Meantime Governor Oñate had set out upon a tour of observation toward the remote West, while his subordinate, Don Vicente Zaldivar, was moving eastward to explore the buffalo plains. Upon the return of Zaldivar, a visit was made to the strong pueblo of Acoma. The reception accorded to him and his men, so far as appeared, was most cordial. The next day, as the soldiers were in parties visiting the place, a sudden attack was made upon them. After a three hours' contest only eight survived. Instant preparation to avenge such treachery was begun. January 22, 1599, an assault upon the stronghold was made, and only after three days of unremitting effort was a victory secured. Of a population of 6000 in the pueblos, only about 600 survived. The lesson for the time was effective.

The reasonable expectation of Governor Oñate, as recompense for his

philanthropic services, was an ultimate increase of his fortune from the mines that he hoped to develop in the territory. But prior to that he cherished an honorable ambition to achieve good for others first, by hastening the settlement and thrift of his immigrants, as well as advancing the comparative civilization of the Indians. An auspicious beginning gave ground for hope. But untoward limitations also developed. Soldiers deserted, and farmers, dissatisfied, attempted to make their way back into Mexico, as prophets of ill-omen, eager to disseminate evil reports. The better part, however, persisted, while at intervals others came to join and share with them. In addition to farming, prospecting and mining were in time attempted, with apparent prospect of fair returns being reached.

At last, June, 1601 (Salmeron says 1599), the governor seems to have felt that, for a season, he might safely direct his efforts toward the east, beyond the mountains. The siren song of a distant, golden Quivira was not unknown to him. A Mexican boy<sup>23</sup> that had seen service, not entirely honorable, upon the eastern plains had told him much, but had not altogether beguiled him. At all events the governor's thought seems to have been that it was high time that the much mooted question of Quivira, where it was and what it was, should once for all be taken up and finally solved. An industrious chronicler of the seventeenth century records that he set out from Santa Fe, accompanied by Padres Velasco and Vergara, and the Mexican boy as guide and interpreter, and eighty well-mounted horsemen. The course taken beyond the mountains is somewhat perplexing: one authority states that the movement was due east upon the buffalo plains; another seems to maintain that his ultimate goal was the north sea, and with that in view he advanced toward the northeast 300 leagues. Bancroft seems to suggest that the course followed was variable, between east and northeast, for a distance of perhaps 200 leagues. As the governor's primary purpose was to ascertain whatever information he might by a personal visit thither to Quivira, as well as of the intermediate territory, and thereafter move in search of the north sea,<sup>24</sup> it would be not strange that his movements may have at times become somewhat perplexing.

In the presence of such conditions it becomes, therefore, a source of lasting regret that the narrative of Oñate's tour upon the eastern plains is, so far as known, no longer in existence. He was manifestly a man of unusual and varied endowments. Honorably ambitious to serve the interests of others quite as willingly as his own, he must have been far in advance of the average Spaniard of his day. He had an eye to see, as well as a mind ever ready to appreciate unselfishly, the varying revelations that the virgin country disclosed from day to day. Had his journal survived we would have doubtless found therein valuable records of frequent incidents by the way, as well as of novel and useful discoveries upon the vast expanses ever opening before him in whatever direction he turned. Not the least pleasing,

NOTE 23.—This elusive personage, Jose or Jusepe by name, was a member of the raiding party, before mentioned, led by Captain Bonilla and subsequently by Humana in a quest for gold, north or northwest from Quivira. After the force had passed the more densely populated region of Quivira, coming upon a broad river, very probably the Platte, while the Spaniards were busily engaged in crossing upon balsas [rafts], Jose, with two other Mexican Indians, improved the occasion to desert. Onate, while in Quivira, met him, and through his disclosures learned of the death of Bonilla as well as the subsequent entire destruction of the command.

NOTE 24.—The north sea here mentioned was probably Lakes Superior and Michigan. Indians from the lake country had naturally communicated the fact of their existence to the Indians upon the plains, and through them the Spaniards in New Mexico had apparently conceived of them as part of the northern Atlantic ocean.

moreover, would be the opportunity of meeting and having intercourse with the native tribes, wherever encountered. There must have been in his personal dealings with them an ease and sincerity of manner that conciliated their confidence. The fact that his route varied from time to time in direction was not without reason; he was rather earnestly desirous, so far as time and opportunity permitted, to explore thoroughly each region visited. Occasional expressions in Salmeron's compilation, evidently derived from Oñate's journals, afford evidence that he was eagerly and constantly searching out the country roundabout as opportunity permitted. The streams were noted as frequent; the plains were ever grateful to the eye, diversified at intervals by gently rolling hills admirably adapted to tillage; the climate was kindly and exhilarating.

In contrast with the Quivirans, other tribes met seem to have been almost constantly roaming, many of them without shelter, in whatever direction there were indications of game. The primeval law of existence, "what shall we eat, what shall we drink, and wherewithal shall we be clothed," seemed to absorb most of their thought and control their voluntary efforts. Other than the Quivirans there were apparently no tribes met, so far as the records afford evidence, that were in any essential degree sedentary, or evinced any inclination to cultivate the soil with a view to thus securing a diversity of diet. Yet the commander's personal intercourse with the tribes met seemed to satisfy him that the Indians of the plains, abject as they sometimes appeared, were far superior in energy and courage to most of the sedentary tribes that he had known in Mexico.

That the first general direction of the march from New Mexico, for a distance of 200 leagues and even further, should be eastward, with frequent detours to the south or north, was quite natural. The region thus exploited was diversified and attractive. At some undetermined point, however, in the advance, a change of course was made, and henceforth the main progress was steadfastly northward. The occasional notices as to the nature of the country visited and examined, as he progressed, incline me to the opinion that he probably entered the present Kansas as far east as Chautauqua county. Thence his movements, as will become apparent later, undoubtedly became more deliberate. Adding to the delays thus caused the time devoted to detours upon either hand, it seems safe to say that his final advance, probably to a considerable distance north of the Kansas river, must perforce have been somewhat slow.

In the course of this final movement we are abruptly met by one of the perplexing problems, not infrequent in our earlier annals, relative to the unexpected presence and influence of certain Indian tribes at points far removed from their original habitat. The narratives of Coronado's quest in Kansas, fifty years earlier, afford scant intimation of meeting or knowing of such tribes. We are forced, therefore, to the conclusion that they had forced their way thither during the half century immediately preceding the appearance of Oñate's command.

The first Indians thus encountered were the Aijados, whom Oñate found occupying territory immediately south of Quivira. They welcomed the Spaniards, it would seem, somewhat effusively, evidently for reasons that develop later. After resting several days they were invited by the Aijados, then engaged in hostilities with the Quivirans, to unite with them in an amicable visit to that tribe. For reasons of his own Oñate readily complied

and, escorted by the Aijados, 2000 strong, set out with his command. As they neared their destination, a Quiviran embassy advancing to welcome the governor, catching sight of the accompanying force of the Aijados, and at once apprehending some sinister motive in their presence, withdrew immediately, with their people, to a remote part of their realm. Thereupon the crafty Aijados, disappointed in the anticipated slaughter, began to pillage and burn the forsaken lodges and villages. This ruthless devastation Oñate at once forbade. Resenting this interference the disappointed warriors promptly directed their fury against the Spaniards, with the gratifying outcome that more than 1000 of them were killed, the Spaniards suffering no loss. These Indians, so the account runs, had for some years been waging relentless war against the Quivirans, and had finally succeeded in wresting from them a valuable gold-mine situated toward the north or northwest.

In a previous battle with another tribe the governor had rescued two captive Aijados boys. To display his knowledge of gold and its qualities the older boy, unaided, built a small smelting furnace, so the story runs, extracted the metal from the ore, and wrought articles with a skill that elicited the admiration of the goldsmiths of Mexico. They tried to deceive him with various alloys or ores, but in no instance succeeded. In each case he readily detected the gold alloy by the sense of smell or touch. The gold from the mine in Quivira was so plenteous, so it is claimed, that arrow heads and other common articles were wrought from it. The lineage of this tribe, the Aijados, I have diligently sought to trace, but without avail. Playing so prominent a part as they did in the story of Oñate's tour of exploration, it is scarcely conceivable that they should have disappeared utterly, leaving no sign. When we consider the extravagant statements made as to their familiar ignorance of the value of gold, as serving base uses only, the most natural issue from the dilemma, if such there be in the case, seems to be to reject the entire awkward fabrication. Certainly Kansas never laid claim to such a Golconda; nor did Oñate ever actually countenance its existence.

Another tribe of which Oñate had experience was known as the Escanques, also enemies of the Quivirans, and at the time of his arrival their near neighbor, merits more extended notice, and fortunately there is no question as to their actual existence. So far as I have been able to trace their history I am much inclined to believe that they were of Ute stock, and so long as they appeared upon the plains were probably predatory intruders. The meager resemblance between their tribal name and that of the Arkansas Indians (now extinct) has been urged as evidence of a lineal relationship; but the claim merits no consideration. The two tribes were radically distinct. Their habitat upon the plains seems to have been subject to change from time to time, indicating probably that they were not able to conquer or retain any permanent abode. During the seventeenth century the tribal name appears at varying dates in the annals of New Mexico and even of Mexico. If the numbers are correctly reported in the narrative of Oñate's tour, the tribe must have been 15,000 strong. The first location assigned to them, east of the mountains, was 100 leagues northeast of New Mexico, *i. e.*, of Santa Fe.<sup>25</sup> Later mention is made of

NOTE 25.—The position here mentioned as the abode of the Escanques, if they were really of Ute stock, was probably the place of their first sojourn upon the plains after emerging from the mountains. Learning in due time of the presence of the Quivirans and their desirable country toward the northeast, they gradually moved in that direction, with a view, it would seem, to dispossessing them. Coronado, while in Quivira, seems to have had no knowledge of them, which indicates that in 1541 they were still distant. At the coming of Onate they seem to have been lo-

them as being upon or near the head waters of the Missouri. Oñate found them bordering upon the southern confines of Quivira.

At his coming they were in the act of moving northward against the Quivirans, doing much damage on the way to the abandoned villages. At the sight of their wanton devastation the commissary of the force, Padre Francisco de Velasco, moved with compassion because of the wanton destruction going on, besought the commander to stay them. Thereupon the Indians turned upon the Spaniards, and in the ensuing struggle there perished nearly 1000 Indians, while their foes lost not a single man, though a number were wounded by arrows. The Escansaques claimed that in this vicinity they had some time before destroyed Humaña and his entire force as they were returning from the mines in Quivira laden with gold. The force thus annihilated at this encampment was originally sent by the governor of Nueva Vizcaya to chastise a turbulent Indian tribe of that state. The leader, Capt. Francisco Leiva Bonilla, after accomplishing his charge, as directed, had, contrary to orders, set out for the gold-mines of Tindan, north or northwest of Quivira.<sup>26</sup>

The campaign against the Indians, together with the march to the mines, must have consumed at least half of the summer. The remainder of the summer, together with a part of the autumn, would be busily occupied in mining. We may therefore conclude, from the slow return march, many of them on foot, weighted to some degree with treasures from the mines, that by hard usage, disease, or theft upon the part of the Indians, a considerable number of their horses were no longer available. Many of the wayworn men, the narrative records, came into camp late daily, and in such condition would sleep long and soundly. Just here the watchful Escansaques found their opportunity. In such cases the attack was always made just before dawn, when slumber is heaviest. The task for the Indians in such case, was simply to fire the tall grass simultaneously upon every side of the camp, and with arrows securely shoot down the half-wakened sleepers as they attempted to escape through the flames. From the completeness of the massacre wrought here the spot was appropriately named Matanza, *slaughter*.

The absence of the original commander, Captain Bonilla, at the time of the catastrophe, was clearly understood. At some previous point upon the march he and his lieutenant, Humaña, became involved in a controversy, with the unfortunate result that he was wantonly murdered by Humaña, who immediately assumed Bonilla's place and authority. The fact that the men when awakened attempted no defense would suggest the incompetence of the new commander, as no effort seems to have been made to guard the camp. The

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cated at a short distance south or southeast from Quivira, engaged in a petty warfare with that people, with a view of dispossessing them. The mention in the text of the Escansaques, while moving north in company with or at a short distance behind Onate's column, coming upon unoccupied villages, does not necessarily (pacific as they always tried to be with other tribes) mean that the Quivirans had fled at the approach of the Escansaques. Much more probably they were at the time upon their annual buffalo hunt. The date of the arrival of Onate in the vicinity would indicate that such was the case.

NOTE 26.—The terms Quivirans, Tindanes, Panis or Pawnees in this paper are properly used as interchangeable. Any Indian tribe was likely to be known under different appellations, according to the personal disposition of tribes that imposed the names as being hostile or friendly. The Quivirans, as just intimated, were in the course of time known by each of the designations above given. Their correct appellation, however, was Pani, Pawnee being a variant form of it. The terms Quivirans and Tindanes were probably conferred by other tribes as derogatory nicknames. For a time, however, embracing the visits of Coronado and Onate, together with the intervening period, they seem to have been generally known only as Quivirans. Such instances were not uncommon.

fire had apparently swept the entire ground. Those that essayed to escape through the flames were mercilessly shot down with arrows. So destructive were the flames that no fragments of clothing or other combustible material were found. On the other hand, fragments of iron, bones and hoofs of horses, bits of top-boots, scattered skeletons of men, and a chance nugget of gold were here and there to be seen, as ghastly mementos of the occurrence. The little gold that was in evidence was, I suspect, obtained among the Black Hills, but not in abundance. The Pawnees, as late as fifty years since, sometimes exhibited small specimens from that source. Two Indian children, a boy and a girl, the latter somewhat burned while escaping from the camp, were the sole survivors. Some years afterwards there was a rumor that the boy, Alonzo Sanchez, had become a noted chief in his tribe. The report, however, was never verified. Each of them had been purchased from some tribe by a member of the command to serve as slaves. Such was one of the tragedies enacted in prehistoric days of Kansas. The exact locality of the slaughter is, of course, destined to remain unknown. The text, however, indicates that it was some distance south of Quivira, *i.e.*, perhaps midway between the Kansas river and the southern border of the state.

Just how long Oñate's sojourn in or near Quivira [Kansas] continued we have no precise means of determining. It may be safe to surmise at least a month, probably somewhat longer, with all the time busily and usefully occupied in various investigations. Such seems to have been his native bent, to hear, to see, to know whatever was valuable to man. His men were therefore eagerly moving in different directions, especially to the northward, as rumor had it that gold-mines existed at some point thitherward. But in this search he failed, though the endeavor served happily to inform him fully as to the character of the country. In contrast with the arid regions of New Mexico and northern Mexico, it seemed to him no exaggeration to speak of it as a veritable land of promise. The frequent streams, the wide prairies, pleasantly diversified with gently rolling hills and admirably adapted to cultivation, the rich soil, spontaneously afforded a variegated growth of grass, flowering plants and native fruits, nuts, Indian potatoes, etc., that added much to the attractiveness of the entire region, so far as he was able to view it.

The Indians met impressed him not always pleasantly. Of the three tribes specially mentioned, he seems to have observed little that elicited admiration save in the case of the Quivirans. In the Escansaque and Aijados his soul found no pleasure; and yet he was ever ready to recognize and appreciate generously traits of good in his fellow men, wherever met. We may safely conclude, therefore, that the punishment bestowed upon the two tribes, the Aijados and the Escansaque, was given with hearty good will. The Quivirans, and he had ample opportunity to know them well, impressed him very differently. In character they seem to have been affable and kindly, disposed to recognize and deal openly and fairly with their fellow men. Alone of the tribes thus far met upon the plains they cultivated corn, beans and squashes in considerable quantities, the first step toward civilization. They constructed lodges of two types: the common lodge, consisting of tanned skins carefully sewed into the required form and stretched upon a conical framework of light poles, for use in warm weather or when traveling; and the larger earthen lodge, consisting of stronger poles set in a circle

about five feet in height. Upon them smaller poles were fastened, and made to slope inward in conical form. These were then firmly bound together with withes, thatched with grass and overlaid with thin turf. Such lodges varied in size from fifteen to forty feet in diameter, the larger sometimes sheltering three or four families. The Pawnees (the Quivirans of a more recent day) used to assert, somewhat philosophically, that this usage tended to encourage a spirit of mutual helpfulness and complacency.

As indicated upon a previous page, in the cases of the retribution administered by Oñate to the Escansasques and Aijados, the Quivirans had preferred to vacate their villages and withdraw to a distance, rather than engage in hostilities; an extreme concession to amiability.

How long the Quivirans had occupied the region of central Kansas we have no direct means of determining; but it is perhaps not drawing a long bow to suggest that they had already resided there a century, or somewhat less, subsequent to the coming of Coronado, in 1541. The fragmentary surviving records indicate also that some portion of them had passed already to the region more nearly adjacent to the present Nebraska; at least, exploring parties sent in that direction reported that so far as their progress extended they found the country already occupied, and wherever met their demeanor was uniformly pacific. An earlier witness, Padre Juan de Padilla, the protomartyr of Kansas, had experience of them as a missionary half a century before, and his testimony was to the same effect. In no instance were they other than kind toward him.

A few details in somewhat fragmentary form have been met as to certain of their early usages. Important communications were disseminated by waving garments from the tops of trees or other eminences, an anticipation of a later method of signaling in vogue in military affairs, the earliest idea of which we owe to the Indians, quite probably to the Pawnees themselves, the later representatives of the Quivirans. Cultivating the soil, they worshiped the planet Venus, known as Hopirikuts, the *Great Star*, recognized by them as the patron of agriculture, as did in later days the Pawnees, their descendants. Sometimes, after planting their corn patches, to secure a good crop, they offered a captive girl as a sacrifice to Hopirikuts. Many of the tribe, as time passed, came to look upon this usage with disfavor, and finally, in 1819, by the interference of Pitalesharu, a young brave of well-known character as a man of recognized prowess as a war chief, the usage was finally discontinued.

The general inclination of the Pawnees, lineally derived from their ancestors, was to live void of offense toward other tribes. This disposition, when known to other tribes that had been crowded west of the Mississippi before the advancing settlements of the whites, was naturally taken advantage of with a view of gaining possession of the lands long occupied by the Quivirans, or their lineal descendants, the Pawnees. Prominent among their assailants, during the early part of the last century, were the Dakotas, who, removing from Minnesota westward across the Missouri river, sought to force their way through Nebraska toward the south; while at the same time the Cheyennes, Comanches and Kiowas were attempting to wrest from them (the Pawnees) the hunting-grounds toward the southwest; an unequal warfare, that was relentlessly waged from both directions for nearly a century. Against such unequal odds—as it were, between the

upper and nether millstones—the tribe was gradually worn down to scarcely more than a remnant of their former selves. To this issue the designing whites upon the frontier materially contributed. The tribe, notable as long being sincere friends of the whites, merited a better recompense.

In this connection there is a certain phase in our knowledge of the Quivirans and their lineal descendants, the Panis, or in its latest form, the Pawnees, that is entitled to special mention. In the surviving records of the early explorers and settlers in the west and southwest, as also in the east and northeast, there is found frequent reference to the presence in those regions of Pani slaves. The coming of such unfortunates from that direction soon became a familiar fact throughout Canada, in the province of New York, and to a less degree in other eastern settlements. There is repeated reference to them in the Canadian archives. In like manner Pani slaves were becoming known in considerable numbers as far southwest as New Mexico, and even into Chihuahua, as the existing state and ecclesiastical archives still amply certify. The natural inference in both cases was to the effect that all such persons were really of Quiviran stock. That the Quivirans, when earliest known, were really of a pacific nature, never engaging in overt hostilities save as a last reluctant resort, has been already brought to notice. The easy enlargement of the statement would make it appear that they were evidently known as a spiritless people, so bereft of the Indian's fondest ambition, to become known as a warrior, as to passively permit themselves or their children to be taken prisoners at will and bartered as abject slaves from tribe to tribe into either of the countries before mentioned, is, unless the actual conditions be clearly understood, to say the least, somewhat surprising. A natural interest in the tribe prompted me, therefore, some years since, to venture an investigation of the matter, with a view to ascertaining more exactly just how much of genuine foundation there might be to justify the time-honored assertion.

Long since the tribe, occupying in Kansas and Nebraska an intermediate position between the Mississippi river and the Great Lakes toward the east and northeast and New Mexico toward the southwest, came to be regarded with no friendly feelings by other tribes roundabout, as holding by right of long occupancy a somewhat strategic or central position, as it were, upon the natural highway between the two extremes—the remote lake region and the southwest. As early as the arrival of Coronado in Quivira, the fact was developed that the Quivirans were already familiar with the Pueblo Indians of New Mexico, while the Pueblos had equally intimate knowledge of the Quivirans. The two guides, Xabe and Isopete, who conducted Coronado in his final direct march to Quivira, were themselves natives of that country, and had served as slaves in New Mexico till ransomed by Coronado. As there were existing hostilities between the two tribes, there were no doubt Pueblo slaves in equal numbers held by the Quivirans or Pawnees. Experience, however, soon developed the fact that such slaves, if retained in bondage by their captors so near their old home, were not always safe property. They were naturally eager to escape and return to their kindred, as their tribe was equally desirous to recover them, and at the same time retaliate in kind upon the captors.

Such conditions, unless the tribes were remote from each other, naturally became intolerable, and so a system soon came into vogue to avert the unpleasant exigency. The Pawnees, finding by familiar experience that cap-

tives from tribes too near by in either direction were liable to be raided from them by their kinsmen from the southwest or east, and so were an element of danger to them so long as they were in their midst, gradually developed a system of transferring them at the earliest opportunity to distant tribes. Those coming to them from the region of New Mexico were conveyed from tribe to tribe to the lake country, and even so far as lower Canada; while those from the northeast or east were bartered to tribes in the southwest. In whichever direction they were marketed, the fact of their coming from the Panis was of course soon known. Whether it originated in a natural mistake, or was the nature of an aboriginal *jeu d'esprit*, the Indians into whose hands the captives came soon learned to designate them as Panis slaves, as if they were of the *bona fide* Pani stock. Though coming into the hands of the Pawnees from diverse tribes, near or remote, they were known in trade as Panis only, a people that in current belief among tribes that did not know them were believed to be so inert and spiritless as to suffer their children to be ravished from them at the will of their enemies and sold into remote, abject bondage. To such a depth, then, the well-known and widely-known warriors *les gentelhommes du prairie*, as the French *voyageurs* styled them, who for two and a half centuries traversed and controlled at will the domain of Kansas, Nebraska and eastern Colorado had sunk! *Credat Judexus Appella!*

At this point it may be permitted to revert briefly to our previous acquaintances, the Escansiques. Living, as we have seen, apparently for some time upon the southern and eastern confines of the Quivirans, indulging meanwhile the fond hope that they might ultimately dispossess them entirely, and so become themselves heirs to the fair domain of Kansas and Nebraska, they were to their bitter disappointment at last constrained to dismiss their sanguine anticipations and turn reluctantly again as wanderers to seek a resting-place elsewhere. For a considerable period thereafter no specific mention of them appears. Half a century later, however, to our great surprise, intelligence is had of them as occupying by actual possession, it would seem, territory in latitude  $46^{\circ}$ , longitude  $72^{\circ}$ , a statement the acceptance of which makes necessary awkward concessions. To concede such a migration as a veritable occurrence we are obliged to assume that, discouraged at last as to achieving any substantial advantage over the Quivirans, they migrated toward the west and, as they neared the mountains, bore for an indefinite distance toward the northwest. That some early Indian migrations were surprising and erratic is a familiar fact, but in this case the conditions presuppose a too facile credence; for the statement soon follows that they are again at no great distance from the Quivirans or Pawnees.

That they were still numerous is manifest from the fact that they were said to maintain a constant force of 5000 men in active service. Each year, moreover, in the month of February, they raided upon the Pawnees, destroyed one or more villages, massacred all that were capable of bearing arms, but saved all that were ten years of age or less, as all such had a marketable value. Later, in midsummer, they appeared regularly in New Mexico, i. e., at Santa Fe, with these captives and great stores of tanned skins. The latter they exchanged for meal and flour for use in diversifying their diet. The captive children they offered for sale. If at the close of the fair any of these children were left unsold, their owners immediately decapitated them in the public market. When the report of such savage conduct

reached the Spanish court, the king at once issued instructions that henceforth any such unfortunates thus exposed to cruel death should be ransomed by the authorities in New Mexico with funds supplied for that purpose from the royal treasury. The record states that such a butchery occurred as late as 1694. In view of the entire disappearance of the tribe soon thereafter from the early annals of our western history, it requires no stretch of imagination to conceive that, as they had meted out to others, Providence forgot not that like requital should be returned to them.

In connection with Oñate's sojourn in Quivira there occurred an incident in lighter vein that may serve quite pleasantly as an illustration of the comparative facility of the versatile Indian and the more stately Spaniard in the casual matters of diplomacy. As the Spanish force was nearing a large village, the camp at the close of day was pitched upon the southern margin of a river, presumably the Kansas, that lay between them and their desired destination. The chief of the village at once dispatched an envoy with a select escort to meet and welcome the command; but as they approached the stream, catching sight of some of their enemies, the Escansaques, in the camp, the dignitary began to hesitate as to the wisdom of proceeding further. Oñate, upon learning the dilemma, fearing that further friendly intercourse might be interrupted, conceived a scheme to quietly send a body of chosen men by a detour that would preclude the envoy discovering the movement. Handing the leader some gyves, he instructed them to proceed leisurely along the stream till they were beyond the view of the embassy, then cross the river, and close rapidly into the rear of the envoy, seize him, place the gyves upon him and bring him at once across the river into the camp upon their shoulders. The charge was of course undertaken, and in due season the captive envoy was placed before the governor.

So far the adroit device well answered its purpose. The Indians were now entitled to their opportunity. Shortly after, the surprise having somewhat abated, one by one a few Indians straggled demurely into the camp; unarmed, with a child-like absence of guile, they were complaisantly prepared to evince surprise or admiration at every turn. This role was quietly maintained till even the astute Spaniards were apparently satisfied that no further thought need be bestowed upon such guileless children of the wild prairies. In due time, however, at an hour when their entertainers were busily occupied in burnishing their arms and armor preparatory, as they anticipated, to making an imposing entry into the Quiviran village, a rumor hurriedly spread that the captured ambassador was nowhere to be found. Hasty investigation developed that the report was correct. His rustic friends had meantime quietly gained access to his place of confinement and spirited him from the camp, gyves and all, no Spaniard taking note thereof. Oñate was wise enough to waive all attempt to name a committee of investigation. There was, therefore, no breathless hurrying to and fro. The quiet in the camp was impressive. Evidently the adroit maneuver had proven to be of a nature that suggested silence as wisdom. The Spaniard had been squarely met upon his own ground, after his own example, and had borne off no honors.

Certain expressions in the surviving fragmentary record of Oñate's tour of exploration seem to indicate that his intention was to explore more generally and carefully the entire region of Quivira, including what is at present central and eastern Kansas, as well as a considerable portion of Nebraska.

The manifest indications are to the effect that he had been especially pleased with the country so far as yet seen, as well as with its inhabitants, the Quivirans. That they were to such an extent already pioneers in the amiable art of agriculture, and were also evidently desirous to live in entire amity with adjacent tribes, seems to have pleasantly awakened an interest in them. But unfortunately all his further plans were abruptly suspended by the reception of unexpected intelligence from New Mexico, to the effect that his immediate presence was necessary there. During his absence it seems that a certain element among the colonists there, quite probably the very ones whom he had brought thither and established as farmers upon lands suitable for such enterprises, and thus far perhaps supported at his own expense, had during his absence ventured to foment dissatisfaction among their fellow settlers, with the natural result that a considerable number, abandoning everything, had abruptly set about returning to Mexico. Upon his hurried arrival in New Mexico the governor found too soon that his fond expectations were sadly marred.

Just where the real fault rested it is difficult to state exactly; nor does the discussion of the actual conditions as Oñate found them relate directly to the subject that concerns us here. The consideration most pertinent in this connection is that the abrupt, unexpected departure of Oñate for New Mexico dispelled for all time a scheme that had already apparently been developed in his mind while engaged in his Quiviran explorations. The descriptive terms applied to the country, so far as visited, summed up in the concise epithet, *a veritable land of promise*, suggest that, in comparison with the general aridity prevalent in New Mexico, the governor may have been quietly considering whether his further generous efforts in colonizing might not with advantage be transferred to the more remote but far more promising province of Quivira. Such a transfer once on foot and successful might to our future disadvantage have restricted our final development to limits far short of our present western frontier. The fortunate result was manifestly controlled by a power higher than ourselves.



## BIOGRAPHY OF JOHN BROWN DUNBAR.

Written for the Kansas State Historical Society by Miss ZU ADAMS, Assistant Secretary.

THIS author, JOHN BROWN DUNBAR, is well qualified to speak on the subjects of the accompanying articles. Reared by parents striving for the mastery of the Pawnee and kindred tongues and for insight into the Indian character, he naturally acquired the knack of languages and a never-failing interest in the history of our native tribes and of the southwestern United States. His father, Rev. John Dunbar, was a native of Palmer, Mass., born March 7, 1804, graduated from Williams College in 1832, and later from the Auburn Theological Seminary. While at the seminary he received his appointment to missionary work among the western Indians. May 1, 1834, he was ordained at Ithaca, N. Y., as a missionary of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, by the Cayuga Presbytery, the sermon being preached by Rev. Nathaniel E. Johnson, of Cortlandville.<sup>1</sup> Mr. Samuel Allis, jr., a native of Conway, Mass., who accompanied Mr. Dunbar in his missionary work, says, in the history of the mission published by the Nebraska Historical Society in its second volume of Transactions: "In the winter of 1834, the [Reformed Dutch] Church of Ithaca was desirous of raising funds to support a mission among the Indians, and consequently made known their object to the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions. The board approved and accepted their proposition, and found a Rev. John Dunbar who was willing to go. He came to Ithaca, and, with Rev. Samuel Parker and myself as assistants, was fitted out by the church under the patronage of the above-named board of missions. We left in the spring of 1834 [May 5], with instructions to cross the Rocky Mountains and penetrate to the 'Flatheads or Nez Perces.'"

The party arrived at St. Louis May 23, and found that the traders to the mountains, whom they had intended to accompany, had already gone. Ascertaining from Maj. John Dougherty, agent to the Pawnees, that missionaries were needed among that tribe, Mr. Dunbar and Mr. Allis, as their instructions provided, decided to visit the Pawnees, and if advisable enter into missionary work there. In June they proceeded up the Missouri river to Cantonment Leavenworth, where they were treated with much hospitality by Majors Thompson and Morgan and their ladies. Being necessarily detained by the absence of Major Dougherty, the missionaries occupied themselves in acquiring a knowledge of the Indian character and habits by mingling with the missionaries among the Delawares, Shawnees and Kickapoos. Mr. Berryman, stationed with the latter tribe, very kindly furnished them with a home for some weeks. They also visited Independence, Mo., then the scene of Mormon disturbances. On the 22d of September the missionaries left Cantonment Leavenworth, and proceeded to Council Bluffs,<sup>2</sup> attended the distribution of annuities, and were presented to the Pawnee chiefs. October 19 the Pawnees started on their winter's tour by the way of their villages on the Platte. Mr. Dunbar accompanied the second chief

NOTE 1.—Am. Bd. of Comm'rs for For. Miss. *Missionary Herald*, 1834, p. 237.

NOTE 2.—Council Bluffs, a trading-post frequented by the Otoes, Omahas, Iowas, and somewhat by the Pawnees, was situated about twenty-seven miles above the mouth of the Platte river, upon the western bank of the Missouri. As early as 1832 it had, however, fallen into decay, and was soon after abandoned.—J. B. D.

of the Grand Pawnees,<sup>3</sup> and Mr. Allis the Pawnee Loups, being separated from each other until the following spring, when the Indians returned to their permanent villages in time to plant their corn. The village of the Grand Pawnees was situated on the south side of the Platte, about 120 miles from its mouth. The Indians treated the missionaries with great kindness throughout the long journey, which terminated in March, 1835.

During the summer and winter of 1835 Messrs. Dunbar and Allis again accompanied the Indians, receiving the same kind treatment, and directing their attention principally to the acquisition of the language. In this Mr. Dunbar made such proficiency as to be able to understand nearly all the Indians said and to express his thoughts with little difficulty on common topics, but could as yet make himself but very imperfectly understood on religious subjects.<sup>4</sup>

Dr. Benedict Satterlee, of Elmira, N. Y., joined the Pawnee mission at the agency at Bellevue,<sup>5</sup> about 130 miles from the Pawnee country, May 27, 1836, his wife, Miss Martha A. Mather, of Fairfield, N. Y., having died at Liberty, Mo.,<sup>6</sup> while on her way to the new field. Miss Emeline Palmer, of

NOTE 3.—This chief, Sarecherish, Angry Chief, spite of his ominous name, was a very companionable and interesting personage; to his fellow tribesmen he was ever a kindly adviser and helpful friend. Though a subordinate in rank, a second chief, he was one of the most respected and influential dignitaries of the tribe in time of peace or war. To Mr. Dunbar, his long-time guest and associate, he was to the day of his death a wise counsellor and steadfast, generous friend. His tragic death was characteristic and noteworthy. Ever since the coming of Mr. Dunbar and Mr. Allis the Dakotas had viewed with hostile intent the efforts making for the establishment of a mission among the Pawnees. Repeated forays were accordingly made nearly every year, during the absence of the tribe upon the annual summer hunt, with a view to cutting down the growing corn-fields and burning the permanent lodges in the vacant villages. These recurring depredations were so serious that in 1843 it was decided that about sixty braves, together with a considerable number of the aged and feeble, who could ill-endure the fatigue of the hunt, as well as a number of children, should be allowed to continue at the village to be protected by the sixty guards who, under the control of Sarecherish, were to keep a vigilant eye upon any further attempted devastation of the corn-fields. As time passed occasional signs of a few wandering Dakotas were noted in the vicinity, but no overt annoyance or injury was received. Herein his first and only error was made. Sarecherish had allowed himself to imagine that the few roaming Dakotas seen were a matter of indifference. On the contrary they were cautiously spying out existing conditions. The Dakota scouts had made report to their band, nearly 200 strong, that matters in the village were favorable for an onslaught. That night a force of nearly 200 warriors quietly crossed the Loup Fork, and secreted themselves in the dense bushes and vines that covered the low ground lying between the village and the river for a distance of a quarter of a mile.

As usual, at the earliest indication of approaching dawn, June 27, 1843, Sarecherish mounted one of his ponies, and, the rest following, rode down into the bushes and by a narrow pathway directed his course toward the river. A short distance only was made ere an enemy concealed beside the path sprang toward the chief, who was entirely unarmed, and with a heavy knife inflicted a ghastly wound across his abdomen. The pony at the same instant made a demivoltle and galloped toward the village. The dying chief made an effort to retain his protruding bowels in their place, but in vain. They fell to the ground and were trodden on by the terror-stricken pony. Upon reaching the village the chief was able to sound the alarm cry and instantly fell to the ground dead. This statement to an outsider may savor much of an appeal to an amiable credulity; yet the entire account is the simple truth, unadorned and plain.

Meantime nearly 200 Dakotas, fully armed for the fray, were pressing eagerly toward the village. The Pawnees had scarcely time to take refuge in their earthen lodges ere the enemy had mounted the lodges and were discharging their arrows at the inmates through the open smoke holes. The Pawnees within were equally busy in discharging their arrows and firearms through holes made in the lodge walls at their enemies, as opportunity offered. The desultory fighting continued at intervals till midday and after. Finally the enemy gradually began to retire, taking with them their wounded and dead. Their actual loss was never ascertained; probably not more than forty braves were killed, and a large number wounded more or less seriously.—J. B. D.

NOTE 4.—Am. Bd. Comm'rs For. Miss. Report, 1836, pp. 97, 98.

NOTE 5—Bellevue was a trading-post nine miles above the mouth of the Platte, upon the same side of the Missouri. Its name to this day, an unfaded reminiscence, is still fondly cherished. One of the large photos of Maximilian Prinz Zu Wied's narrative of his travels in this country, during the years 1832-'33-'34 presents an admirable view of the place at that date. In the trading-house, as there seen, I was born; when the mission with the Pawnees was abandoned, a sojourn of nearly two months was passed in that building. The recollections of those days are vivid still, though not an object about which they cluster so ardently now survives. The mighty river alone remains ever the same.—J. B. D.

NOTE 6.—The sudden death of Mrs. Satterlee was regarded by all members of the mission as a grievous loss. For some years she had hopefully anticipated engaging in that work. For a



First station of Rev. JOHN DUNBAN and SAMUEL ALIAS, JR., missionaries to the Pawnees, Bellevue, on the Missouri river, nine miles above the mouth of the Platte. 1831-1841.

Ithaca, N. Y., had accompanied the Satterlees, and was united in marriage with Mr. Allis, at Liberty, April 23, 1836. They concluded to remain at Bellevue, where they could continue their work among the Pawnees who visited the agency, and with the nearer tribes of Omahas and Otoes. Doctor Satterlee accompanied Mr. Dunbar on the summer hunt among the Pawnees till their return to the village, early in September.

It was during the year 1835 that Mr. Dunbar was able to give valuable assistance to C. A. Murray, the English traveler, who published an account of his experiences in a volume entitled "Travels in North America, Including a Summer Residence among the Pawnee Tribe of Indians," London, 1841.<sup>7</sup>

In September, 1836, Mr. Dunbar returned to Massachusetts, to confer with the authorities concerning the interests of the Pawnee mission, and there married, January 12, 1837, Miss Esther Smith, born at Hadley, August 17, 1805. During this visit, which detained him until February, 1837, he superintended the printing of a small elementary book of seventy-four pages,<sup>8</sup> which he had prepared in the Pawnee language. The edition numbered 500 copies. They arrived at Bellevue on May 6, 1837, where they began house-keeping in an old trading-house.<sup>9</sup>

In September, 1839, Messrs. Dunbar and Allis visited the Pawnee villages, and, after a conference with the chiefs, selected a site for the mission and

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time her decision was delayed because of symptoms of consumption. These indications with due care soon disappeared, and at the solicitation of Doctor Satterlee she decided to join the Pawnee mission. During the journey westward in midwinter she unhappily contracted a severe cold. While delaying a few days at St. Louis, the indications of the dread disease developed. She was advised, however, by a physician, that the drier air upon the Upper Missouri would be beneficial to her. Upon the way she rapidly became weak, and after landing from the boat at Liberty, Mo., she rapidly declined till, during the last week in April, 1836, death ended her hopeless suffering. "Blessed are the dead that die in the Lord."—J. B. D.

NOTE 7.—The "valuable assistance" tendered to Mr. Murray is conspicuous by its absence in the published volumes. His opinion of Mr. Dunbar as therein expressed is by no means favorable, and for reason. His habitual attitude toward the Indians was not complaisant, candid, nor grateful, though with them as their guest. More than once he sought advice from Mr. Dunbar, as to his manner toward the Indians, and uniformly rejected it as soon as uttered. Finally, after two schemes had been mooted by some of the Indians to relieve themselves of his presence, each of which, at the solicitation of Mr. Dunbar, was thwarted by Sarecherish, he was told plainly that his only safe course was to withdraw quietly, if possible unbeknown, and endeavor to make his way rapidly to Fort Leavenworth, nearly 200 miles distant. For once, the only instance of the kind on record, he accepted the salutary advice.—J. B. D.

NOTE 8.—The booklet in the Pawnee tongue, prepared for use by Mr. Dunbar in the contemplated school for the Indian children, was soon after in actual use. So general was the interest manifested in the school as conducted by Mr. Allis that some of the adults asked to be allowed to learn to read. The call for the books was constant, but of course only children were allowed to use them. When the mission was suspended very few of the booklets remained. I have one, and know of only four or five others.—J. B. D.

NOTE 9.—September, 1836, Mr. Dunbar returned to Massachusetts to confer with the authorities concerning the interests of the Pawnee mission. Meantime Doctor Satterlee, in the fall of 1835, accompanied the Grand or Chauí Pawnees upon their winter hunt. The winter proved unusually severe and they therefore extended their hunt further than usual toward the remote Southwest, to a distance of more than 300 miles. Some of their scouts one day brought in word that they had met a small party of Cheyennes, who intimated that their tribe was desirous of establishing peaceable relations with the Pawnees. An interview was accordingly arranged, largely through the efforts of Doctor Satterlee, about the 10th of April, 1837, and a pacific understanding was reached, subject to the approval of the chiefs of the two tribes in a general council. Nearly a month later word was had from two trappers that while descending the southern branch of the Platte, distant nearly 200 miles, they had met the doctor with two Pawnee guides moving eastward. A few days later word was brought that, during a severe snowstorm of two or three days, the doctor and his guides had disagreed as to the proper course to be followed in order to reach the Pawnee villages. Unable to agree, they were allowed to choose their own route, while the doctor, as soon as his horse was sufficiently recruited, would proceed alone, guided by his pocket compass. May 17 the Pawnees came to Bellevue to receive their annuities. They reported that they had not seen or heard of him since his guides left him. One of the chiefs expressed fear that he might have met with foul treatment by the way. The only hope expressed was that he might have turned westward and reached one of the trappers' forts upon the upper Platte.

Mr. Dunbar, returning from the East, anxiously inquired of every trader's boat, as it descended the Platte, but day by day no word was received from any source concerning his absent

farms, on Council and Plumb creeks,<sup>10</sup> on the north side of the Loup Fork of the Platte, about thirty miles from their junction, and from 100 to 125 miles from Bellevue, and about eight to fifteen miles from the principal villages of the Pawnees. In 1840 the Pawnees had bad luck in the chase, and were inclined to see the advantages of better methods of farming. In May, 1842, a number from each of the four Pawnee bands moved to the vicinity of the farm and mission. Mr. Allis received an appointment as government teacher to the Pawnees in 1841, and Mr. George B. Gaston as farmer. The mission families removed to the new station in May, 1841, and were kindly met by the chiefs with an abundance of buffalo meat and corn. At first Mr. Allis's family was separated some miles from Mr. Dunbar's, but in January, 1844, for safety, they were removed to within three miles of Mr. Dunbar at the upper station. For some years back the Pawnees had been sadly annoyed by the Sioux, who would come singly or in small parties, driving off horses, or killing such stragglers as they might encounter about the Pawnee villages.

In 1843 the force at the new settlement was increased by a teacher, three farmers, two blacksmiths and two helpers; but the settlement of government employees among the Pawnees seemed to incite more persistent hostilities on the part of the Sioux. They seemed to be offended because of the interest shown toward promoting the welfare of the Pawnees, and so redoubled their attacks upon them. On the 27th day of June, 1843, "early in the morning, a strong party of Sioux came upon one of the Pawnee villages by surprise, when a course of fighting and plunder ensued which lasted till midday, and resulted in the killing of 67 Pawnees, wounding 20 others, seizing about 200 horses, and burning 20 out of 41 lodges of which the village was composed. Some children were taken captive. Some of the most important chiefs and braves, and those most favorable to the improvement of their people, were killed. The battle was a mile from the mission house and in plain view.<sup>11</sup> The Sioux attack resulted in the destruction of many of the Indian corn-fields. While the Pawnees had been assembling at their new residence, they had required much of Mr. Dunbar's time and attention, so that he had not been able to give stated religious instruction, but

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brother. At last, however, among a number of trappers who were descending the Platte in care of their boats, laden with furs taken during the winter and early spring, a young man was met who had been with Mr. Dunbar and Doctor Satterlee during the buffalo hunt of the previous summer. He reported that while descending the river about 150 miles west of the Grand Pawnee village, near the river bank they had found a blanket marked *B. Satterlee*, a gun upright with its muzzle fixed in the ground, shreds and fragments of clothing, a silver pocket pencil, leaves of a small memorandum book, two letters entrusted to him at the fort to be forwarded to the East, essentially uninjured, and gnawed human bones. While the doctor was at these forts he had exchanged some of his clothing for heavier garments. Several of the garments thus obtained by him were easily recognized. The exact cause of his death was never ascertained. Evidently he had not been killed by Indians. He had probably become bewildered, and wandered for some time, not knowing what course to take; quite possibly also he had been unable to secure any sustenance after the small supply obtained at the forts was exhausted, and at last, too weak to proceed further, he set up his gun as a signal of distress, and resigned himself to his fate. Thus within a year after the pathetic demise of his consort Providence called him to join her in a better country.

During his brief ministry with the tribe he had by his medical services rendered himself extremely useful. His kindness to them in times of distress and suffering was unceasing, and more than a generation after his death his name and traits were still remembered.—J. B. D.

NOTE 10.—I am much mortified that I may not at this distance give any exact topographical information as to Plumb or Council creek, nor as to the exact location of the buildings erected by the mission. In 1877 I made a sketch of the grounds and of streams in or near them. The following winter I loaned them to a Nebraska gentleman. Some time after they were lost or stolen from him. I have had no opportunity since to replace them.—J. B. D.

NOTE 11.—Am. Bd. Comm'r's for For. Miss. Report, 1843, p. 168. See also note 3, page 100.

during the winter of 1843-'44 he translated portions of the scripture into the Pawnee language.

Rev. Timothy E. Ranney and wife joined the mission work in August, 1844. "Never before have the Pawnees manifested so strong a desire to have their children reside with the missionaries and be instructed by them. Enough have been offered to constitute a large boarding school. . . . The missionaries have translated the Gospel of Mark into the Pawnee language."<sup>12</sup> In consequence of another attack upon the villages by the Sioux, in which Mrs. Allis was shot at, the missionaries resolved, after holding a council with the government employees, that it was not safe for them to remain any longer, as in doing so they imperilled themselves and families. They therefore cached such goods as they were unable to take, and in August, 1846, departed for Bellevue with their families, having spent four years and four months with the tribe. Mr. L. W. Platt took with him sixteen Indian children for their protection.

I quote again from Mr. Allis: "We were in the country eight years, doing what we could to prepare the way, before we could move among them with our families. During that time Brother Dunbar and myself traveled with them some eighteen months for the purpose of acquiring a knowledge of their language, manners, and customs. The remainder of the time we were with our families at Bellevue, living in suspense, hoping that the way might be opened that we could go among them. During that time we had but little access to them, but more with the Otoes and Omahas, who were living most of the time near Bellevue. I could understand considerable of their language, especially that of the Otoes, whose language is pretty and easily acquired."

Mr. Dunbar, soon after leaving the Pawnee villages, removed to Holt county, Missouri, and engaged in home missionary work. He purchased a farm near Oregon, the county seat, taught school, preached, and attended to his farm. Preferring to rear his family in a free state, he sold his farm in 1856 and removed to Kansas, and settled upon Wolf river, two miles west of the town of Robinson, in Brown county, where, March 16, 1857, he was appointed treasurer of the county board of commissioners. Mrs. Dunbar died there November 4, 1856, and Mr. Dunbar survived the loss only one year, till November 3, 1857. There were born to Mr. and Mrs. Dunbar seven children:

JACOB SMITH DUNBAR, b. October 27, 1837, at Bellevue, Neb.; mar. Dec. 15, 1875, at Evans, Colo., to Mattie Hodgen. Present residence, Evans, Colo. *Children*, b. Evans, Colo.: Frank B., Sep. 26, 1876. Nellie J., Sep. 22, 1877.

BENEDICT SATTERLEE DUNBAR, b. Mar. 6, 1839, at Bellevue, Neb.; mar. (first) Oct. 18, 1877, at Wabaunsee, Kan., to Ella A. Dibble, b. Jan. 6, 1849, at Guildford, Conn., d. without issue Nov. 28, 1891, at Topeka, Kan.; mar. (second) Apr. 20, 1898, at Manhattan, Kan., to Nellie S. Griswold, b. Oct. 7, 1861, at Wabaunsee, Kan.; no issue. Present residence, Manhattan, Kan.

JOHN BROWN DUNBAR, b. April 3, 1841, at Bellevue, Neb.; mar. Aug. 22, 1876, at Topeka, Kan., to Alida Stella Cook. Present residence, Bloomfield, N. J. *Children*: Paul John, b. Oct. 27, 1879, at ——; in business at Fort Worth, Tex. Willis Cook, b. Sep. 7, 1881, at ——; a chartered accountant at Dallas, Tex. Louis Smith, b. July 3, 1888, at Bloomfield, N. J.; a student of architecture at University of Pennsylvania.

MARY DUNBAR, b. Dec. 13, 1842, at Pawnee Mission, Neb.; mar. June 30, 1880, at Clifton Springs, N. Y., to H. S. Adams. Present residence, Clifton Springs, N. Y. *Children*: Hawley Foster, who resides in Chicago.

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NOTE 12.—Am. Bd. Comm'r's for For. Miss. Report, 1846, p. 197.

SARAH DUNBAR, b. Mar. 14, 1845, at Pawnee Mission, Neb.; d. Jun. 1, 1906, at De Smet, S. Dak.; mar. Jan. 5, 1870, at Topeka, Kan., to Barnett C. Benedict, b. in state of Connecticut. Present residence, De Smet, S. Dak. *Children:* Esther Fannie, b. Oct. 8, 1870, at Wabaunsee, Kan.; Mary Charlotte, b. Feb. 28, 1872, at Wabaunsee, Kan.; Blanche, b. May 5, 1874, at Wabaunsee, Kan.; Clifton, b. July 15, 1877, at Rochester, Minn.; Sarah Jewell, b. Nov. 28, 1881, at De Smet, S. Dak.; mar. July 21, 1902, at De Smet, S. Dak., to Gilbert A. Benson. Their children: Dorothy, b. Jun. 14, 1903; Orrin, b. Nov. 29, 1905. Present residence, De Smet, S. Dak.

CHARLOTTE RANNEY DUNBAR, b. Jan. 5, 1848, at Oregon, Holt county, Mo.; mar. Nov. 21, 1877, at Manhattan, Kan., to Geo. W. Hollenback. He was a member of the Kansas House of Representatives, from Comanche county, legislature of 1891. Present residence, Lenexa, Kan. *Children:* Martha Zelma, b. Nov. 8, 1878, at Fort Scott, Kan.; Lottie Ruth, b. Jan. 31, 1881, at Fort Scott, Kan.; Benedict Dunbar, b. Jun. 28, 1883, at Coldwater, Kan.; George Massa, b. Sep. 27, 1886, at Coldwater, Kan.

MARTHA ANN DUNBAR, b. Feb. 25, 1850, at Oregon, Holt county, Mo.; mar. (first) Feb. 10, 1882, at Wabaunsee, Kan., to Sherman J. Castle, who d. Nov. 3, 1893, at Jordan Valley, Ore. They had one son, Raymond S. Castle, b. Oct. 3, 1886, at Jordan Valley, Ore. She married (second), at Jordan Valley, F. C. Barton; no children. Present residence, Vail, Ore.

John B. Dunbar received his primary education from his father, was one year at Hopkins Academy, Hadley, Mass., and graduated from Amherst College in 1864. He served in the civil war in the capacity of private, sergeant, and lieutenant in an independent light artillery company, one year in Louisiana and nearly two and a half years in Virginia. From 1869 to 1878 Mr. Dunbar held the chair in Latin and Greek in Washburn College, Topeka, Kan. While here he married Miss Alida Stella Cook, whose parents, Mr. and Mrs. Caspar Cook, late of Rochester, N. Y., were for the time connected with the College. They have three sons, Paul John, born October 27, 1879, in business in Fort Worth, Tex.; Willis Cook, born September 7, 1881, a chartered accountant, now at Dallas, Tex.; Louis Smith, born July 3, 1888, a student of architecture in the University of Pennsylvania. After leaving Topeka, Professor Dunbar became for three years superintendent of the public schools of Deposit, N. Y. Later he filled the same position for sixteen years in Bloomfield, N. J., and in 1897 became connected with the Boy's High School in Brooklyn, N. Y., where he still remains, while retaining his residence in Bloomfield, N. J.

Professor Dunbar is a philologist and deeply interested in the early history and explorations of the Spanish and French in the southwestern United States. His library is especially rich in publications on this region and the languages of the native tribes of Kansas, Nebraska, and Missouri. In 1872-'73 he assisted Father Gailland, of St. Mary's Mission, in the preparation of a Pottawatomie grammar and dictionary, which, however, have not yet been published. He has also compiled, but not published, a brief grammar and partial vocabulary of the Pawnee language. In January, 1885, Professor Dunbar was elected a corresponding member of the Kansas State Historical Society. He has been a valuable member, assisting the Society in the purchase of many books, has prepared for it a bibliography of early Spanish and French authorities on the region, has always answered cheerfully queries relating to local names of Indian derivation, and in the accompanying papers is generously sharing his wide knowledge with other students of Kansas history. He copied and presented to the Society, about ten years ago, the French text in manuscript of Bourgmont's journey in 1724, from Fort Orleans, Mo., to the Paducas in western Kansas.

Among other works, Mr. Dunbar has published the following:

The Decrease of the North American Indians. (In *Kansas City Review of Science and Industry*, September, 1880.)

The Pawnee Indians: Their History and Ethnology (92 pp., ill. 8 vo.). (Reprinted from the *Magazine of American History*, April, November, 1880; November, 1882.)

An article on the Indian craze of a few years ago.

The Pawnee Language; an appendix to George B. Grinnell's Pawnee Hero Stories and Folk Tales, as well as frequent material for use in other parts of the volume.

The Life of an Indian (Pawnee) Boy.

Indian Games.

A Study of the Lipan Indians.

A Comparison of the Usages of the Greeks of Homer's Day and the Pawnees of 1850 and After.

The Migrations of the Pawnee Clans or Subtribes.

Professor Dunbar has aided various persons interested in Indian matters with information for publication by them, as Dr. Daniel G. Brinton, of Philadelphia; Maj. Frank North, of Columbus, Neb.; also several writers connected with the Bureau of Ethnology, at Washington. Most of his investigations are, however, still in manuscript. To Doctor Brinton, now deceased, Professor Dunbar furnished a collection of Indian songs—Pawnee, Arikara, Caddo and Wichita; also a paper on religious beliefs and usages, and a paper on medical practices as observed by the Pawnees. To Dr. John G. Shea, of Elizabeth, N. J., he furnished frequent assistance as to Indian matters, for use by him in his edition of Charlevoix's Travels in the United States, six volumes; in volume 1 of his History of the Catholic Church in the United States, as to various tribes.















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